Vol IV No. 2 July 1978

BHARATA MANISHA
QUARTERLY

A JOURNAL OF INDOLOGICAL & ORIENTAL STUDIES

IN THIS ISSUE

Bindu & Tantric Iconography

Rabindra Nath Tagore

Political and Social Condition of Ancient India as Reflected in Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa

On the Sanskrit and MIA names of pulses in Ancient and Early Medieval India

Assimilation of Foreign People in Hinduism during the Pre-Gupta and Gupta Age

Historical Epistemology—I Knowing the Past

BHARATA MANISHA VARANASI-1 (INDIA)

With best compliments from :

TCI

TAKE A TIP
TAKE A TRIP
TAKE TCI

Travel Corporation (I) Pvt. Ltd.,

5 Jeena House, Hahuman Road, New Delhi Tel. 310905-06

At TCI, Travel is not just going from one place to another. Its also hotel reservation, sightseeing tours, ticket and visa arrangements and everything else that goes into making your travel a pleasure. Whether you're visiting India or going abroad just call on us. Our wide network of offices will take care of everything.

H. O. : Travel Corporation (India) Pvt. Ltd.,

Chandramukhi' Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021

Branches :

Agra, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Baroda, Calcutta, Cochin, Darjeeling, Kanpur, Madras, Poona, Srinagar, Varanasi.

Resident representatives : Frankfurt, Milan, New York, Tokyo, Los Angeles, Paris

Bharata Manisha Publications

1. **Introduction to the the Science of Religion.**
   By *Prof. F. Max Muller.* Demy 8vo. pp. 342. Rs. 45-00

2. **The Riddle of the Temple of Somanatha.**
   By *Prof. M. A. Dhaky and H. P. Shastri.* With a foreward by *Dr. B. K. Thapar*
   Royal 8vo pp. 60 with 32 illustrations and 4 line Drawings. Rs. 60-00

3. **Sanskrit Drama & Dramaturgy.**
   By *Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya*, B. H. U. Demy 8vo. pp. xvi + 434. Rs. 50-00

4. **The Conception of Ahimsa in Indian Thought :**
   By *Dr. (Miss) K. Walli*, Jammu University.
   Demy 8vo. pp. viii + 220. Rs. 35-00

5. **The Problem of Being in Heidegger :**
   By *Dr. Chintamani Pathak*, McMaster University, Canada.
   Demy 8vo. pp. xvi + 138. Rs. 30-00

6. **Historical Oriya Morphology :**
   By *Dr. (Mrs.) Haripriya Misra.* Demy 8vo. pp. 200. Rs. 40-00

7. **Perspectives in Yoga :**
   Edited by *Dr. A. K. Sinha.* Demy 8vo. pp. 140 + 16 Plates. Rs. 25-00

8. **Indian Society in the Mahabharata :**
   (Based on Smriti Material in the Mahābhārata)
   By *Dr. S. C. Banerjee.* Demy 8vo. pp. 400. Rs. 60-00

9. **The Origin & Development of the Stupa Architecture :**
   By *Dr. (Km.) Sushila Pant.* Crown Quarto, pp. 225 with 16 full pages
   Half Tone Plates & 24 Sketches & Maps. Rs. 80-00

10. **Yoga As Depth Psychology & Para Psychology :**
    By *Dr. C. T. Kenghe.* A. M. University, Aligarh.
    Vol. I : Historical Background. Demy 8vo. pp. 210. Rs. 40-00
    Vol. II : Depth Psychology. Demy 8vo. pp. 272. Rs. 40-00

Bharata Manisha Publications

11. **Mahabharata men Loka-Kalyana ki Rajakiya Yojanaye :** (Hindi) By *Dr. K. N. Misra.* A brilliant study of Mahābhārata from humanitarian and social point of view. Demy 8vo. pp. xxii + 260. Rs. 20-00

12. **Shandilya Bhakti Sutram** : (Sanskrit / Hindi) Aphorisms ascribed to Maharshi Shandilya, with commentary named Sata-sutriya Bhasya of Srimat Svapneswara Acharya. Critically edited with a Hindi commentary by *Dr. Srikrishnamani Tripathi.* Demy 8vo, pp. xxvi + 80.
Library Edn. Rs. 6.00
Student Edn. Rs. 4.00

13. **Sankhya Darshanam :** (Sanskrit) Critically edited by *Pt. Janardana Shastri Pandeya.* With the Vṛttisāra of Mahadeva Vedānti and the commentary of Śrī Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa hitherto unpublished. Demy 8vo. pp. xxviii + 224. Rs. 15·00

14. **Sri Ramakrishna Gita** : (Sanskrit) By *Prof. T. Bhandarkar.* Philosophy and teachings of Sri Rāmakṛṣṇa Parama haṁsa in well-composed Sanskrit verses. Crown 8vo. pp, 135. Rs. 8.00

15. **Rig-veda Cayanika** : (Sanskrit / Hindi) By *Dr. Sidhnath Shukla.* A collection from the Ṛg-veda with critical notes on Historical, Literary, Social, Religious and Philosophical aspects. Demy 8vo. pp. liv + 282. Rs. 20.00

16. **Matyakala—Prachya evam Pashchatya** : (Hindi) By *Dr. Sudarshan Misra.* A comparative study on the history of evolution of the great art of Drama in the East and the West. Demy 8vo. pp. xx + 260. Rs. 30·00

17. **Mahabharate Smriti Sastriyopadanam :** (Smṛti Material in the Mahabharata) Vol. I—Text. By *Dr. S. C. Banerji.* Demy 8vo. pp. 584. Rs. 15·00

18. **The Career of Raja Durlabhram Mahindra (Rai-Durlabh) Dewan of Bengal, 1710-1770.** By *Dr. S. C. Mukhopadhyaya.* Demy 8vo. pp. xii + 226 Rs. 35.00

स्वाध्यायान्न प्रमदितव्यम्
भारत-मनीषा-वाराणसी

BHARATA MANISHA

PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS

D. 28/171 Pande Haveli

VARANASI-221001

BHARATA MANISHA
QUARTERLY

Vol. IV **JULY—1978** **No. 2**

Editor :
J. D. Bhattacharya

Associate Editor :
K. R. Bhattacharya

Assistant Editors :
H. N. Chakravorty
K. N. Mishra
M. Bhattacharya

Circulation Manager :
Asit K. Mukerji

Editorial Office :
D. 28/171, Pande Haveli
Varanasi-221001 (U. P.)
Phone : 52894

Subscription Rates :
Inland : Annual Rs. 20-00
Foreign : Annual
Air Mail U. S. $ 10/-
Sea Mail U. S. $ 5/-
Single Copy Rs. 6.00

Editorial Advisory Board

Prof. R. K. Tripathi, B. H. U., Varanasi.
Prof. Lallanji Gopal, B. H. U., Varanasi.
Prof. Ananta Lal Thakur, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
Prof. Satya Vrata Shastri, Delhi University,
Prof. Anjan Kumar Banerji, B. H. U., Varanasi.
Prof. Jagannath Upadhyaya, S. Sanskrit University, Varanasi.
Prof. J. D. M. Durrett, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya B. H. U., Varanasi.
Prof. S. A. Upadhyay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan Bombay.
Rev. Samdhong Rinpoche, Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi.
Dr. Chintamani Pathak, McMaster University, Canada.
Prof. K. Mahadeva Shastri, University of Cologne, West Germany.
Dr. S. S. Misra, B. H. U., Varanasi.
Prof. H. P. Chakraborty, Viswabharati University.
Prof. P. S. Shastri, Nagpur University.
Prof. K. Kunjunni Raja, Madras University.
Prof. E. R. Sreekrishna Sharma, Sri Venkateshwar University, Tirupati.

Published by J. D. Bhattacharya for Bharata Manisha, D. 28/171, Pande Haveli, Varanasi and Printed by Mahesh Kumar at Divine Printers, Shivala, Varanasi-221001

Contents

Bindu & Tantric Iconography
—*Dr. R. N. Mukerji*, Deptt. of Philosophy, B. H. U., Varanasi. 5

Rabindra Nath Tagore
—*Prof. K. S. Ramakrishna Rao*, Head of the Deptt. of Philosophy, Govt. College for Women, Mandya. 18

Political and Social Condition of Ancient India as Reflected in Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa
—*Dr. Ramjiban Acharya*, Kalindi, Midnapur, West Bengal. 30

On the Sanskrit and MIA names of pulses in Ancient and Early Medieval India
—*Dr. Gyula Wojtilla*, Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary. 39

Assimilation of Foreign People in Hinduism during the Pre-Gupta and Gupta Age
—*Dr. N. Q. Pankaj*, Lecturer in History, B. H. U., Varanasi. 45

Historical Epistemology—I : Knowing the Past
—*Prof. N. Subrahmaniam*, Professor of History, NEHU, Shillong. 54

Errata for 'Some Aspects of Medical Sciences as Gleaned from Graco-Roman Sources' by Vijoy Govind, published in Vol. III No. 4 & Vol. IV No. 1 63

Book Review 65

R. N. Mukerji

Bindu and Tantric Iconography

V

Yantra of Kālī and its Significance as an Implicit Icon

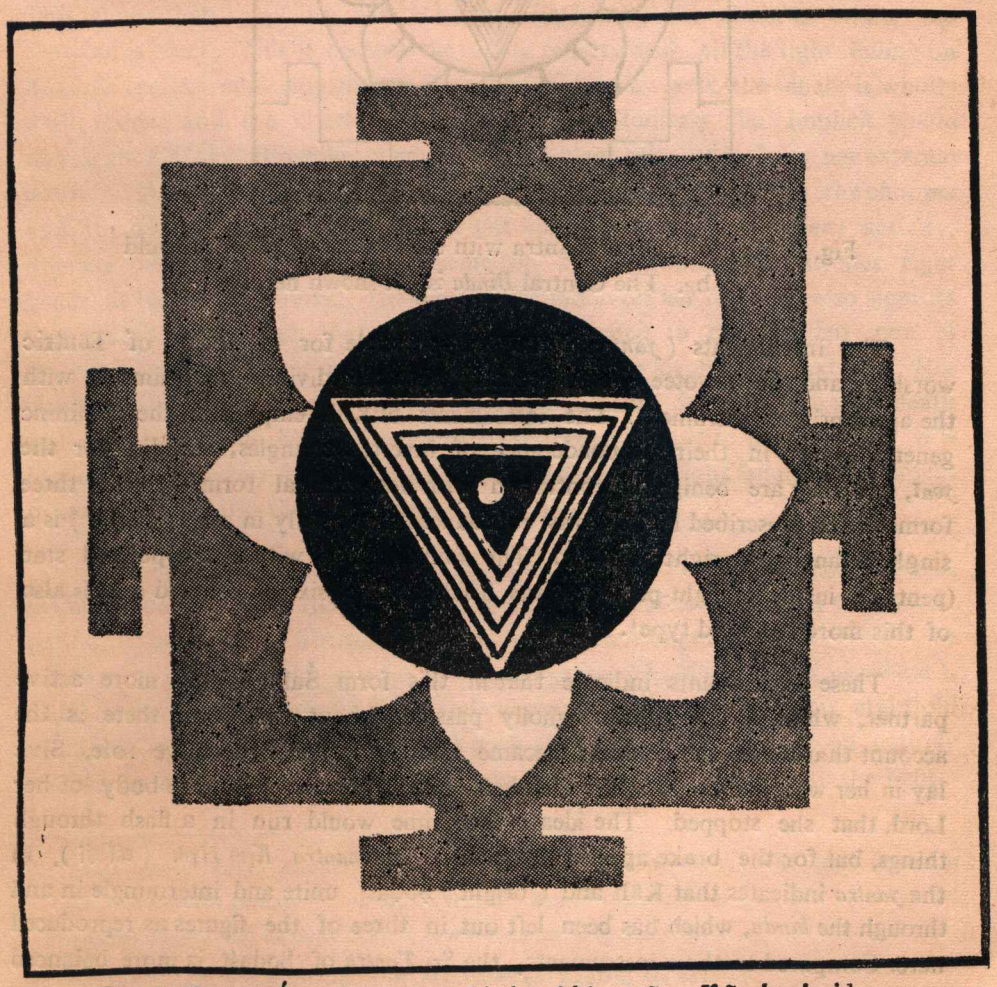

Fig. 1. Kālī or Śyāmā Yantra. *Bindu* within *pañca Kañcukas* inside *Bindu* within *Puryaṣṭaka*. The triangles are in white.

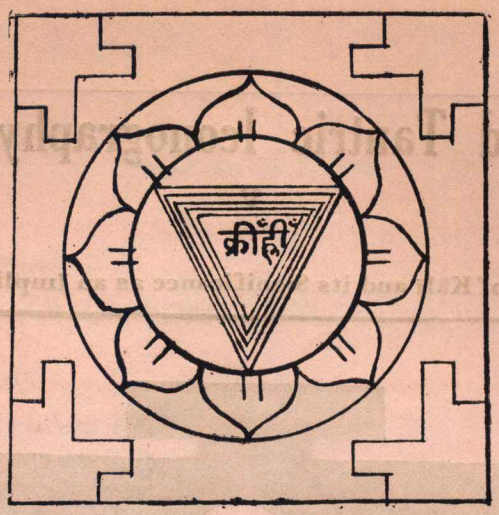

Fig. 2. Kālī or Śyāmā Yantra with the *Mantra* क्रीँ ह्रीँ as it should be. The Central *Bindu* is not shown here.

The instruments (*yantras*) are indispensable for all forms of Tāntric worship, and the devotee should identify both the divinity and himself with the appropriate instrument. The instruments of Kālī emphasize the feminine generic aspect in their preponderance of inverted triangles, standing for the *yonī*, and they are benign as contrasted with her external form. In the three forms of the prescribed instruments reproduced here, only in one (Fig. 4) is a single balancing upright triangle. The fourth form, with a five-pointed star (pentacle) inside an eight-petalled lotus inside another sixteen-petalled one, is also of this more balanced type[1].

These instruments indicate that in this form Śakti is the more active partner, while Śiva is almost wholly passive. About this form there is the account that when the Goddess became rampant in her destructive role, Śiva lay in her way, and only when Goddess' feet fell on the prostrate body of her Lord, that she stopped. The idea is that time would run in a flash through things, but for the brake applied by space. The *mantra Krīṁ Hrīṁ* (क्रीँ ह्रीँ), in the *yantra* indicates that Kālī and (bright) Ṣoḍaśī unite and intermingle in and through the *bindu*, which has been left out in three of the figures as reproduced here. Compared to these instruments, the *Śri Yantra* of Ṣoḍaśī is more balanced in *sāmarasya*.

1. Illus. A. Mookherjee and M. Khanna, *The Tantric Way* (1977), p. 35.

About the instrument number I of Śyamā Kālī, Ajit Mukerji has written that the *bindu* is reflection of the Supreme Consciousness in *avidyā*, the five triangles represent five organs of sense or activity, and the eight-petalled lotus stands for these together with the trio of *budhi* (intellect), *ahaṁkāra* (ego), and *manas* (mind).[1] The account is largely correct, but the following additions are required. The symbolism here is very complex, and dose not stand for one or one set of concepts.

The eight-petalled lotus is white, unlike the dark colour of the Goddess. This shows that implicitly she is bright. Externally the chalk is bright and charcoal is black. This is because the chalk reflects back all the light falling on it, while the charcoal absorbs the whole of it. As a result, the chalk is wholly dark inside, and the charcoal wholly bright. Similarly the implicit *yantra* represents Kālī in altogether a creative, benevolent role, underlying her external destructivity. That is also the reason why the emblems of destruction, the chopper and the decapitated head are in her left hands, indicating subsidiary activity, whereas benevolent gestures of benediction and fearlessness are in her right hands, as her main activity. The digit of the moon on her forehead also signifies this ambrosial aspect. This aspect is represented in the implicit icon of the *yantra*, as her inner essential nature, underlying prohibitive exterior. Her implicit benevolence also arises from the fact that she devours time and death as Kālikā, and thus, by double negation, restores the dead to life (p. 13).[2] It is because of her purely feminine role that the balancing upright triangles are absent in the *yantra*, as also the outer lotus of sixteen *kalās*.

The eight petals of the lotus also represent the *Puryaṣṭaka*, which mean, the eight-fold abode of the Puruṣa. It is his permanent body during one cosmic period, unless he gets liberated earlier, which transmigrates from one life to another. The eight-fold include the intelligence (*buddhi*), ego (*ahaṁkāra*), mind (*manas*), together with five subtle elements (*tanmātras*).[3] This eightfold in bloom is white, Goddess' external dark *tāmasika* aspect having an entirely *sāttvika inside*, like coal that is all bright inside, having absorbed all the light.

---

1. *The Times of India Annual*, 1965 p. 65. The Yantra in colour. The green colour in the instrument is perhaps due to artist's fancy. Besides the inner *bindu* there has to be the *mantra* क्रीं, ह्रीं, and an outer circle (*bindu*) shown in as figure 2.

2. कालं कालयते काले मृत्योर्मृत्युर्भियो भयम् *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, II, 45.*

3. मनोबुद्धिरहङ्कारस्तथा तन्मात्रपञ्चकम् ।
इति पुर्यष्टकं प्रोक्तं देहोऽसावातिवाहिकः ॥ *Yogavāśiṣṭha*, VI, I, 51,50

The five down-pointed triangles in the red patch (black here) also stand for the vulva with the smear. Five-foldness of the triangles also stands for the five sense-organs, as organized through sex, and interdependent as derived from the sense of touch. The derivation is from vibration (*spanda*) to touch, sight, taste, and smell.

The instrument also represents the involutionary aspect of genesis. The five parts of the instrument, and the five triangles represent the five sheaths (*kośas*) through which the all-pervasive supreme pure consciosness gets reduced to a point. Technically it is called concealment (*tirodhāna*), by which Śiva becomes jīva, reducing His cosmic consciousness to a point. The sheaths are those of bliss (*ānandamaya*), knowledge (*vijnānamaya*), mind (*manomaya*), vitality (*prāṇamaya*), and physical being (*annamaya*)[1]

The same when seen as negative (restrictive) aspects from cosmic fullness are as the five sheaths (*kañcukas*) of the *Trika school*. These are limitations in terms of time (*kāla*), restraint (*niyati*), due to actions (*karmas*), limitation due to interests, inclinations or attachments (*rāga*), limitation in knowledge (*vidya*), and restraint in respect of manifestation (*kalā*)[2]. This negative aspect is more prominently meant, as the earthly creative process. Through these five-fold restraints, Śiva turns into atomic (*anu*) *jīva*, resting thus at the basal centre (*mūlādhāra*). The *bindu* within the five triangles also shows such an existence of the *jīva* in the *trikoṇa* (triangle) at the *mūlādhāra*. The bliss of the *Ānandamaya* also resides here reduced to a dot of joy. Just as from the bliss of Brahman, the world has originated in joyful sport, from the above dot of joy, with its inkling of higher bliss, new creation proceeds.[3]

In *Yogavāsiṣṭha* it has been said that the *puryaṣṭaka* has the consciousness (*citta*) in its lap, whlle it is consciousness that conjures up the gross body . The instrument shows the spark of consciousness in the *bindu* within the red circle of *rajas*, as in the lap of the eightfold lotus.[4]

---

1. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II *Brahmānandavalli*.
2. *Pratyabhijñā-Hṛdaya*, 7
   चिदानन्देच्छाज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिरूपत्वेऽपि अख्यातिवशात् ।
   कलाविद्यारागकालनियतिकञ्चुकवलितत्वात् पञ्चकस्वरूपः ॥
3. शुक्रसारं विदुर्जीवं प्रालेयकणसन्निभम् ।
   आनन्दोऽचलसन्दोहस्तत एव प्रवर्तते ॥ *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, VI, II, 20, 10.
4. तन्मात्रपञ्चकं चित्तं क्रोडीकृत्य व्यवस्थिता ।
   स्वप्नभ्रमवदाकारं भावात् स्थूलं प्रपश्यति ॥ Ibid., VI, I, 32, 41.

Thus the implicit icon of the Goddess is entirely mild nnd creative, and unlike her terrible exterior. This corresponds with the gestures of benediction and fearlessness in her right hands, whereas death is symbolized in her left hands. This is also in keeping with what is attributed to Prakṛti in Sāṁkhya, where it is held to evolve for both enjoyment and liberation (*bhogāpavarga*) of Puruṣa. In prayer to Durgā also we have her addressed as granter of both heaven and liberation, '*svargāpvargade*'. In fact she granted enjoyment to king Suratha, and liberation to Samādhi, and of these two aims, what is benign and kind from one point of view, is precisely what is terrible from the opposite view-point. That is why worldly prosperity is terrible for liberation, and *vice-versa*, and one who is awake to the one is said to be asleep to the other.[1] This also follows from the nature of Prakṛti as constituted by three *guṇas*; *rajas*, being intermediary, *sattva* can come up by suppressing *tamas*, and *tamas* by suppressing *sattva*, as in the two forms of the *Taigitu* sign in fig, 1 (No, IV). Thus we can say that Kālī is implicit in Ṣodaśī, and Ṣodaśī is implicit in Kālī. That is why in the case of Ṣodaśī, also, the garland of heads is never very far off, as we have in various places in *Jñānārṇava Tantra*, where it is also said that Tripura Herself has three forms, Vamā, Jeyaṣṭhā and Raudrī, as three *bindus* with three *guṇas*.[2] *Bindu* means void (zero) and yet has the *guṇās*. Most probably the famous *Trimūrti* of Elephanta represonts these three-fold aspects of Tripurā.

Account of Mahākāla and Kālī in *Yogavāsiṣṭha*

1. Kāla, Niyati, Kṛtānta

Kāla stands for both time and death, *Niyati* is fate as determined by the law of *karma* and also death, and *kṛtānta* can mean both death and dissolution as the end of creation, and also the fruit of actions. In *Yogavāsiṣṭha* the words are used in a symbolic manner conveying these different nuances of meanings[3],

Rudra Kāla is always ready to devour the whole creation without satiation. The real Kāla is invisible, it is only partially revealed as years, periods,

1. Gītā, II, 69.
2. ब्रह्मविन्दुर्महेशानि वामा शक्तिर्निगद्यते ।
   विश्वं वमति यस्मात्तद्वामेयं परिकीर्तिता ॥
   ज्येष्ठा तु वैष्णवी शक्तिः पालयन्ती जगत्त्रयम् ।
   ततो रौद्री ग्रसन्ती तु क्रमेण परमेश्वरी ॥
   एवं बिन्दुत्रयं विद्धि गुणत्रयविभूषितम् ।
   बिन्दुशब्देन शून्यं तु तथाऽपि गुणसूचकम् ॥ *Jñānārṇava Tantra*, I, 14, 16.
3. *YV*, I, 23-29.

cosmic periods etc. Things arise and perish in Kāla like objects of fancy, and Kāla has the sun and the Moon as balls for its sports. At dissolution Kāla decks himself with a necklace of destroyed creatures reaching upto his feet. In time creatures rise and subside like waves in the ocean. Everyday Kāla sweeps the gold of day-light, with the old broom of dark night. Kāla, the mightiest in the world, having broken down all creatures, in the sport of dissolution, enjoys by itself, appearing as presence in total absence.

For prince Kāla, the all-embracing ocean of cosmic deluge is a pleasant pond for water-sports with ocean-fire as a lotus flower. Kālarātrī is his spouse, and the earth is as his wine cup.

For him Bhairava of the blue colour of the clear sky, with his garland of universes emitting terrible noises, is but a young cuckoo.

The above is Kāla as Time. Next it is described as destroyer (death) of the universes. But birth and death are consequences of one's own actions, and Kāla has thus the third form *Kṛtānta* or *Consequences of Actions*. In this form he is engaged in cosmic dance of death with his consort Fate (*Niyati*). with a necklace of human heads. Kṛtānta has sun and moon as his ear-rings, mountains and oceans as his ornaments, and, for dress, he has only the azure sky washed in the waters of the cosmic deluge. Goddess of Fate (Niyatidevī), at the great dissolution, dances decked with feathers of dead peacocks, heads of Hara, with his three eye-sockets emitting dreadful sounds, tresses of Gaurī, and with Indra's body, with one thousand and seven holes, as the alms-bowl.[1]

The Account of Demoness Karkatī (as Niyati)

Demoness Karkatī, whose story occupies several chapters of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. is really another form of Fate born of actions (*karmas*). At the end of a penance, she was seized with great hunger, in proportion to her huge body as a mountain of coryllium, but the penance had left her with a resolve not to consume anything unearned and undeserved. So Wind advised her to try to reform men by proper precepts, and devour only those who did not listen to them. Satisfied with this proposal, she descended from the summit of the Himalayas to the land of the kirātas to satisfy her hunger.

---

1. नेत्रत्रयबृहद्रन्ध्रमूरिभाङ्कारभीषणैः ।
लम्बलोलजटाचन्द्रविकीर्णाहरमूर्द्धभिः ॥
उच्चरच्चारुमन्दारगौरीकबरचामरैः ।
उत्ताण्डवाचलाकारभैरवोदतुम्बकैः ॥
रणत्सशतरन्ध्रेन्द्रदेहभिक्षाकपालकैः । *YV*, I, 25, 16-18.

Dense Night in the Land of the Kirātas

We have seen that Kālī is worshipped on new moon nights. Similarly the night of Karkatī's visit matched her aspects. This night has been described thus,

Dense darkness was as a friend of Karkatī, from which the moon had fled.[1] In its denseness it made the candle flame both narrow and sharp like a tongue, while the darkness flitted round the courtyards like a young woman.

The night's clotted darkness could be grasped with the hand, or cut with a sword. It was as dark as the interior of a cloud of smoke or the mountain of coryllium. It appeared as if the storm of dissolution was shaking abroad this mountain of coryllium. In fact pitch darkness was 1 ke the dark mud in the occan of Dissolution, as black as coal-mine, as dense as ignorance, and of the colour of a black bee,[2] This is a poetic account of darkness as a positive entity.

Cosmic death-dance of Rudra (Kāla) and Kālī[3]

Yogavāsiṣṭha contains a vivid description of the process of cosmic dissolution, and the roles of Rudra and Kālī in it.

As the Creator (Brahmā) gave up his resolutions (*saṁkalpas*) that sustain the world imagined by him, through concentration on the half-measure of *oṁkāra*, the world also proceeded towards dissolution. Due to a withdrawal of Creator's resolves, all creatures tended to lose their virtues, and all objects their inner substance. Then twelve suns rose, and parched and burnt the universe to ashes, followed by *puṣkarāvarta* clouds of dissolution that with torrential rains dissolved the debris and ashes of the burnt universe, and filled the whole space with one ocean (*ekārṇava*).

---

1. हस्तहार्यतमःपिण्डा बभूवाऽसितयामिनी ।
   नीलमेघपट·····च्छन्ना निरिन्दुगगनान्तरा ॥
   सुवयस्येव कर्कटयाः — Ibid., III, 77, 2-5.
2. कज्जलाम्भोदमध्यमा काचशैलोदरोपमा ।
   पङ्कपिण्डान्तरघना खड्गच्छेद्यान्ध्यमांसला ॥
   प्रलयानिलविक्षुब्धकज्जलाचलचञ्चला ।
   एकार्णवमहापङ्कपर्वतोदरमेदुरा ॥
   अङ्गारकोटरघना सौषुप्तपदसुन्दरी ।
   अज्ञाननिद्रानिबिडा भृङ्गपृष्ठच्छदच्छविः ॥ — *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*YV*), III,77, 13-15.
3. *YV*, VI, 2, Chs, 71-86.

Then Rudra, with five faces, ten hands, and three eyes in each face, appeared, as the personification of space and the one ocean, black with the collected darkness of aeons of nights, but with three flaming eyes. Sucked in by His breath, the entire water, with the debris of the universe, rushed into His fiery mouth, which was *Vāḍvānala* or ocean-fire. And thus the whole ocean of deluge was swallowed up in the fire of Rudra's mouth. Rudra is really cosmic ego (*ahaṁkāra*), his five faces are the five senses, and ten arms stand for five organs of action and their activies. His darkness is the colour of the sky.[1]

Then Rudra, vast as space and dark as rain-clouds, with sun, moon and fire as three eyes, and with ten arms, started a dance with abandon, with only directions as dress, His body, full of blue flames, appeared as if embodiment of the waters of deluge, with eyes of ocean-fire (*vāḍavāgni*).

From his body a shadow emerged imitating his dance, She also was of dark colour with three eyes. She was so lean as to appear like a bundle of veins, and in her tallness as if out to measure the sky and tied with the veins for support. Her terrible face was swept by flames, and the head was decked with leaves and flowers like a mobile forest. Her darkness was like condensed coryllium, like embodied blue of the sky, darkness, and night, or as very dark clouds swept by the wind. She wore a necklace of gods like the Sun and stars and heads of demons round her neck. In her ears she wore two corpses as ear-rings, with two serpents also suspended from them. Her breasts hung as low as knees, like long gourds. Her head-crown was decked with hairs of the Creator, and peacock feathers, together with high heads of Moon and other gods. She appeared like a dry gourd-creeper suspended from the high tree of the sky. With hands like great waves, her dark and delighted form appeared like eddies in the great deluge of dissolution.

Withal she would assume one face, hand and foot, and next she would assume many of them, and again discard all of them. She was Kālarātri or Kālī. Her breath set mountains flying, raising great echoes in the firmament. She moved

---

1. ·····रूपनामासावहङ्कारतयोस्थितः ।
विषमैकाभिमानात्मा मूर्तिरस्यामलं नभः ॥
व्योमाकृतिः स भगवान् व्योमवर्णो महाद्युतिः ।
चिद्व्योममात्रसारत्वादाकाशात्मा स उच्यते ॥
सर्वभूतात्मभूतत्वात्सर्वगत्वान्महाकृतिः ।
यानि तस्यानुपक्तानि पञ्चज्ञानेन्द्रियाण्यलम् ॥
तानि तस्य मुखान्याहुस्त्रयद्रूपाणि सर्वतः ।
कर्मेन्द्रियाणि विषयास्ते हि तस्य भुजा दश ॥ *YV*, VI-2, 80, 19-22.

as if with an actor (dancer) who sang songs of supplication to her in strong winds. And, in her exuberant dance., she put on a necklace of the great mountains.

The whole universe was as an ornament on her body, with Puṣkarāvarta clouds of cosmic deluge as sapphire on her breast. Merits (*dharma*) and demerits (*adharma*) are also her ear-ornaments. Four *Vedas* are her udders, and all creatures are as hairs on her body. She has also a garland of weapons.

The destroyed world rested peacefully in her as in a mirror, she being much pleased to devour it. The idea is that since she devours time and death (Kāla) also, the two negations cancel out, so that the dead world is restored to life in her, and the past becomes present. Even when she stopped her dance, the perished world, rejuvinated in her, kept a whirling dance, in its complete indestructibility.[1]

In the dance all the stars and the mountains rotated like a disc. This whirling dance, with a terrible noise and as the very embodiment of fear, is yet only a mirror-image. In this process, mountains, with trees as hairs, and oceans danced, as also houses etc. without actual motions. In case of Goddess' Tāndava dance, although even mountains appeared to fly, actually nothing moved, but earth assumed the aspect of heaven, and vice-versa, to give the illusion of motion.[2] Actually a static world appears as dynamic in *Māyā* like the image of a mountain in a rotating mirror. In the process stars rotated like a row of candles, creation and dissolution featured as day and night, bright and dark phases as diamond and sapphire, and day and night as clear and dull drops of silver.[3]

---

१. आदर्शप्रतिबिम्बस्थमिवाभात्यखिलं जगत् ।
तस्या वपुषि विस्तीर्णे स्वरूपिणि सरूपधृक् ॥
सा न नृत्यति तत्सर्वं सशैलवनकाननम् ।
जगन्नृत्यति नानात्म नृत्वा पुनरुपागतम् ॥
तज्जगन्नर्त्तनं चारु तद्ध्दादर्शसंस्थितम् ।
चिरं मया तदा दृष्टमविनष्टं पुनः स्थितम् ॥ Ibid, 48-50

2. तत्र भूतलमाकाशमाकाशमपि भूतलम् ।
प्रतिकृति भवत्यन्तर्न च किञ्चिद्विवर्तते ॥ Ibid, 66.
जगत्संक्षुब्धमक्षुब्धं दृश्यते स्थितिसंस्थितिः ।
सञ्चाल्यमानमुकुरप्रतिबिम्ब इवास्थितम् ॥ Ibid, 89.

3. संहारसर्गनिचया दिनरात्रिभागे बिन्दूपमा रजतयोर्दिवसोत्कराश्च ।
कृष्णाः सिताश्च परितोऽमलशुक्लकृष्णस्वादर्शमण्डलवदाकुलमुल्लसन्ति ॥ Ibid. 80.

In the case of the Goddess, the sky was her tresses, the underworld was as her feet. Her size wae like space, and colour was like dream-perceived mountain of coryllium, but with the lustre of twelve suns. Like darkness and lustre, the other polar opposites that resided in her were being and non-being, creation and dissolution, birth and death, joy and sorrow, attachment and aversion, injunction and prohibitions etc. These resided in her at times reconciled and, again, as separated, and thus set as a harmony of different *rasas* or precious gems in a design (in literal meaning 'in a box').[1]

With her vast body she danced before equally vast Rudra, who had turned the universe to ashes with his third eye. She also worshipped him, and now and then looked at him. She had Garuḍa wings on her head, and, besides the garland of heads, also one of spade, pioughshare, winnower, mortar, pestle, bucket, jug, dish, peg etc. This indicates the agrarian and household round that is endlessly repeated in time. In her hand she had the horn of the buffalo of the god of death, Yama, with the sound of which, she punctuated her dance.

Dancing like this, as by accident, she touched Śiva, by eliminating the slight gap of space between them. It was like waves touching ocean–fire (*vāḍa-vānala*) to disappear in it. On touching Śiva, she also shrank from her infinite size, and merged in him.

Thus Rudra remained alone. With sun–like eye he contemplated the two upper and lower shreds of the universe, and attracting them, swallowed them. Then he gradually reduced his infinite size to that of an atom, and finally disappeared.

Answering Rāma's questions, Vasiṣṭha explained the above process thus : In higher vision, the Goddess is pure consciousness-space (*cidākāśa*), but to consciousness covered with ignorance (*avidyā*), she is like the world–painting. Thus she assumes both aspects, seen by wisdom as pure consciousness and by ignorance as the differentiated world. In the conscious body of the Goddess the world is like the reflection of a lotus in a crystal. The dancer was neither man nor woman. Her dance also was nothing real, and similar was the case with her appearance. All objects of the world are but consciouness-space that has not given up its true nature, and this consciosness–space is Śiva and Kālī.

---

1. संसारसर्गसुखदुःखभवाभवेहानीहानिषेधविधिजन्ममृतिभ्रमाद्याः ।
सार्द्धं पृथक् च विलसन्ति सदैव सर्गे व्यामिश्रतामुपगता अपि तत्र भावाः ॥
उत्पातशान्तिमरणोत्सवयुद्धसाम्यविद्वेषरागभयविश्वसनादि तत्र ।
एकत्र कोश इव रत्नचयो विभाति नानारसाप्रतिघसर्गपरस्परं तत् ॥

YV VI 2, 81-85, 87.

The vibration (*spanda*) is the very nature of pure consciousness, beyond the trio (*triputi*) of knower, knowledge, and known, by which it projects the illusion of perceptible objectivity. This vibration is the dance of Rudra. The mental power of vibration (*spanda-śakti*) of Rudra, who is of the nature of consciousness-space Śiva, is *Māyā* (Kālī). This *māyā* is inseparable from Śiva as stir is inseparable from wind and heat from fire. Pure quescent Śiva is perceived through *māyā* and not by any other means, just as wind is perceived through its stir. This calm pure consciousness as Śiva is called Brahman beyond mind or speech. The power of vibration is his will (*icchā*-desire), that projects objective vision. That desire, lit up with internal reflection of consciousness, is called the awareness of *jīva*. It is also Prakṛti for all creation, and the source of all its actions.

She (Śakti, Prakṛti) is called dry (*śuṣka*) as she dries (even water) as fire therein. Being anger incarnate towards the wicked, she is called angry (Candikā), having the colour of blue lotus, called Utpalā. As she is the sole triumphant, she is called ' Jayā "or" Jayantī", and as a resort of victory, "Vijayā". She is called "Unconquored" (Aparājitā) and "Durgā", because she is difficult to conquor or suppress. As she grants the highest results on chanting (her hymn), she is "Gayatrī", as source of all genesis, "Sāvitrī", as expositor of the means for heaven and liberation, "Sarasvatī". She is the *Indu-kalā* (*Candrabindu*) of (*anāhata*) *Om* that is constantly sounded in the hearts of all creatures.

As both Śiva and Śivā are of the from of sky, they are *asita* (blue). Because Śiva and Śivā, of the nature of consciousness, have imagined blue sky, like a body of flesh, for creation, they appear as dark and embodied. But they stay in space as space, as actually they are formless. Goddess Kālī of the nature of vibration in pure consciousness, becomes like all Vedic activities of her own will, and these activities constitute her body. That is why her diverse dances are as fruits of Creator's actions; and turn into creation, maintenance and merger of all creatures. The Goddess is of the nature of activity (*kriyāśakti rūpinī*) and, hence, endowed with limbs. In reality she is nothing except Śiva, and her form cannot be indicated, and yet the lotus of Kālī, as a receptacle of the universe, holds Lakṣmī (the Goddess of Wealth), of all the visible world, in her heart. As pure consciousness, shorn of ignorance, the state is of inactive, pure, calm, changeless Śiva. When his consciousness-power vibrates to attain objectivity, through ignorance, the state becomes one of activity as Kālī. The whole world and sacred *Vedic* activities are as her body. She is Goddess Prakṛti, called, Śiva's Will (*Śiveccha*). So long as this power of desire

does not see Śiva, it goes round in the world, but this Goddess of the nature of wisdom, merges into God of the nature of wisdom, on touchiug him. That is why Kālī merged in Rudra.

In the above account, the objects like winnower, ploughshare, mortar etc. clearly represent implemements and utensils of agriculture and household life, and not perticularly of *Vedic* sacrifice. As such the original iconography seems to have represented *Time* as the basis of all these activities. Since these activities go round and round, generation after generation, they are strung into a necklace. Their interpretation as *Vedic* activity only in *Yogavāsiṣṭha* appears to be a later refinement.

As Kālī is explicitly identified with Prakṛti, the above account acquires great importance. The static motion described corresponds to *sadṛśa pariṇāma* in Sāṁkhya, where *guṇas* keep changing into themselves in dissolution.[1] Actually in Sāmkhya Prakṛti itself is regarded as unmanifest, uncaused, permanent, pervasive, *inactive*, independent, and partless, as contrasted with its manifect modallties (*vikṛtis*) that are caused, impermanent, bounded, *active*, dependent, and with parts.. But both of them are constituted with three guṇas, objective, productive, and unconscious. Puruṣa has the opposite of these latter qualities, while being like unmanifest Prakṛti in other respects.[2] In the same spirit, we have in *Bhagauadgītā* that manifest world emerges from unmanifest Prakṛti at the day of Brahmā, and lapses baek to it in Brahmā's night, while beyond both these there is the supremely changeless, that endures even when all else perish.[3] It is in this light that the relation between Śiva and Kālī, and again, within her, the static aspect underlying external dynamism have to be understood. Again, Kālī merges in Siva, on touching him, after her cosmic dance. This also is in keeping with Sāṁkhya account according to which it is Prakṛti that actually gets bound and liberated, and not Puruṣa.[4]

---

1. प्रतिसर्गावस्थायां सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्च सदृशपरिणामानि भवन्ति । *Sāṁkhya-Tattva Kaumudī* XVI
2. हेतुमदनित्यमव्यापि सक्रियमनेकमाश्रितं लिङ्गम् ॥
   सावयवं परतन्त्रं व्यक्तं विपरीतमव्यक्तम् ।
   त्रिगुणमविवेकि विषयः सामान्यमचेतनम्प्रसवधर्मि ॥
   व्यक्तं तथा प्रधानं तद्विपरीतस्तथा च पुमान् । *Sāṁkhya Karikā*, 10, 11
3. अव्यक्ताद् व्यक्तयः सर्वाः प्रभवन्त्यहरागमे ॥
   रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्तसंज्ञके ।
   परस्तस्मात्तु भावोऽन्योऽव्यक्तोऽव्यक्तात्सनातनः ॥
   यः स सर्वेषु भूतेषु नश्यत्सु न विनश्यति । *Bhagavadgītā*, 18, 20
4. तस्मान्न बद्ध्यतेऽद्धा न मुच्यते नापि संसरति कश्चित् ।
   संसरति बध्यते मुच्यते च नानाश्रया प्रकृतिः ॥ *Sāṁkhya Karika*, 62

Above we have seen how opposites meet in reconciliation in God. This is the identity of Siva and Sivā, wherein static and dynamic, rest and motion become one. In Kālī, besides other oppositions mentioned here and in an earlier number, disturbance and calm, death and festivity, war and peace, hatred and attachment, fear and confidence, are said to attain a harmony of several *rasas*, like gems in one design. Again both merit (*dharma*) and demerit (*adharmā*) are said to be her ear ornaments. We have also noticed the contrast between her external ferocity and inner benign-ness as represented in her *yantra*. This spirit of reconciliation of opposites is very typical of Tantric approach. Specially the static conception of reality as we find in Advaita Vedānta, which regards unsublated entity only as real, and therefore called *dravyārthika naya* by the Jains, and the dynamic conception of reality, as propounded in Buddhism, which is called *paryārthika naya*, are reconciled. In the case of worship, many of those very things that were specifically prohibited in earlier or other forms of religion, were pressed into service, as the whole of life came to be regarded as worship. In the sequel we shall consider thls matter in more detail.

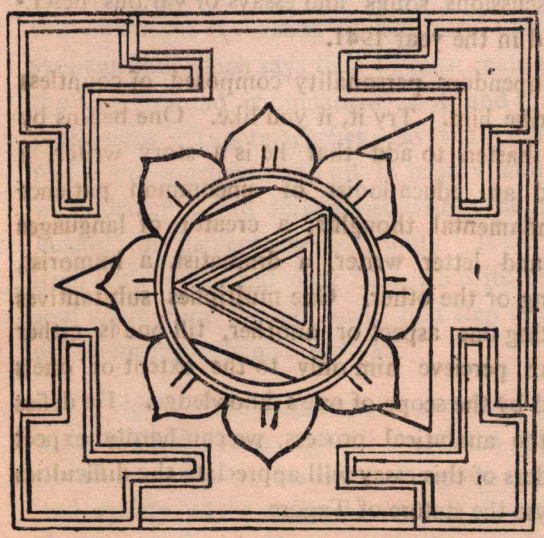

Fig. 3. Yantra of Secret (Guhya) Kālī or Kālī of the Cremation Ground (*Śmaśāna*) or Bhadrakālī.

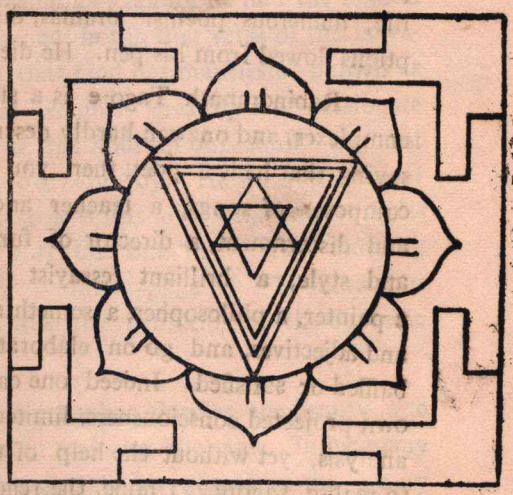

Fig. 4. Another form of Śyāmā *Yantra*. Here out of the five triangles, one has become up-right and interlocked with the sourth, as union with Siva. In fig. 3 the sixth trfiangle in the background is *avyakta* (*guhya*) feminity of *Prakṛti* beyond express poterity of sexes.

Keeping this kārikā in view, we see no reason why almost all scholars force a meaning contrary to the text for kārikā 21, which gives straight-forward meaning that the world process is for perception of Puruṣa and liberation of Prakṛti.

(Continued

K. S. Ramakrishna Rao

Rabindranath Tagore

(Some Reflections on his Poetry and Philosophy)

Rabindranath Tagore was the worthy son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, one of the leading exponents of the Brahma Samaj. He was born in the year 1861, at Calcutta. The Maharshi reared him up in a religious and spiritual environment. Boy Rabindranath was precocious and began writing poetry at the early age of thirteen. For full sixty-seven years of his crowded life, numerous poems, dramas, discussions, songs and essays of various descriptions flowed from his pen. He died in the year 1941.

Rabindranath Tagore is a stupendous personality composed of countless complexes, and one can hardly describe him. Try it, if you like. One begins by saying that he is a poet; then you hasten to add that he is a story writer, a composer of songs, a teacher and an educationist of uncommon patience and discernment, a director of fundamental thoughts, a creator of languages and style, a brilliant essayist and letter writer, a dramatist, a humorist, a painter, a philosopher, a something or the other. One multiplies substantives and adjectives, and go on elaborating one aspect or another, till one is either baffled or satisfied. Indeed one can percieve him only to the extent of one's own projected consciousness, limited by the scope of one's knowledge. He defies analysis, yet without the help of the analytical process, we can hardly expect to realise Tagore. I hope, the readers of this essay will appreciate the difficulties faced by me in my attempt to analyse the stature of Tagore.

Rabindranath Tagore the famous poet of India was also one of the foremost leaders of Indian Reniassance in art, music, dance, and literature. He used his great genius, for about half a century in fostering the spiritual and political revival of India and devoted and dedicated his life to the establishment and development of a cultural and educational centre, *The Viswa Bharati* with international ideals. But his long life of many-sided activity was an expression of the Upanishadic Philosophy which he imbibed as a child in the holy companionship of his sage father Devendranath Tagore, a leader of Brahma Samaj.

His early education in England and close friendship with same humanitarian Christians and kindred souls of the west left a permanent impression on his mind and work. His ideal was the combination of Western Science and Practical efficiency with the spiritual heritage of the East.

As a philosophical thinker Tagore was generally idealistic. Tagore's philosophy may be called Personal Idealism. Rabindranath Tagore was proud of his success in gaining possession of the wonderful truths that personalism brought. Its essence of course is that the human mind, at its best, is the best sample of reality we have direct experience of Reality is that which acts and can be acted upon and we take the mind or the self to be real because it is basically an actor, but an intelligent actor and intelligence is the foundation of cosmos including love and beauty. Tagore extended this principle of personalitic philosophy to all fields like poetry, music, art, religion, philosophy, society etc...He looked at the eternal verities with a mind soaked in poetry as well as philosophy. He was a profound student of the Upanishads and the Gita and the supreme Epics of India. Like Mahatma Gandhi he had the highest veneration for the vision of the world contained in the first verse of the Isāvāsyopanishad which says that we must realise that God has manifested himself as the Universe and is immanent in it and that we must give up our passionate possessions. Tagore teaches also that God is the Soul of our soul. We must realise our oneness with all in beauty and love and joy. He says "Our soul when detached and imprisoned within the narrow limits of a self, loses its significance, for, its very essence is unity. It can only find out its truth by unifying itself with others and only then it has its joy" Sadhana–page 27 "To know our soul apart from the self is the first step towards the realisation of the Supreme deliverence" Sadhana Page—33.

This is why, Tagore as a poet–cum philosopher glorifies the beauty and glory of the universe and the joy of the soul in realising the same. In his many poems as well as in his essays he gives expression to his gospel of the beauty and reality of the universe and of the joy of the service to humanity and devotion to God. He says "The human soul is on its journey from law to love, from discipline to liberation, from the moral plane to the spiritual". In some very famous poems in the Gitanjali he says that we must realise that God is to be found among living beings and that we must serve all beings and must not renonnce all action and run away from living beings. Tagore is an earnest Sadhak. He is not however an ascetic, as his ideal life is different "Liberation by detachment from the world is not mine" he has said in one of his poems. One object of the Sadhana of all believers in God, is to be somewhat godlike.

As God's universe, which is both his garment and self-expression is not a dreary desert, the life and externals of godlike men need not always be imitations of a desert. As bare deserts are, however a phase of God's creation, asceticism may be a phase of God-seeking and self-realisation but not the whole of it. Genuine asceticism for finding one's own soul and the over soul and for the good of man is worthy of reverence. Equally worthy of reverence, if not more, is the treading of the future and the more difficult path of Sadhana of those who are in the world without being of it.

"Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads. Why dost thou worship in the lonely dark-corner of a temple with doors all shut. Open the eyes and see thy God is not before thee; He is there where the tiller is tilling the ground and where the path maker is breaking stones" (Daridranarayana). Though Tagore is essentially a poet, his works are so deeply coloured with metaphysical notions that it must provide a happy hunting-ground for the philosophic critic. True, his philosophy is 'a sigh of the soul rather than a reasoned account of metaphysics; an atmosphere rather than a system of philosophy'. (Radhakrishnan : Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore, Page-6) Rabindranath's philosophy is an artist's creation and as such it is to be understood as a flower is understood. So a careful study of his poems shows that his religion and teaching are rooted in the wisdom of the Upanishadic seers and the powerful Bhakti movements of the medieval Vaishnavism in North India including Bengal. Above all he has an individuality of his own, based on his personal spiritual-bent and mystical experiences, a few of which he has described in his Reminiscences. His songs indicate the wide range of his poetic imagination and the intensity of his God vision. They are clothed in the language of power and a profound and varied symbolism of the authentic Indian type. In this respect Tagore can be compared to the English Metaphysical poets like Donne and Herbert. While the outlook and approach of these English poets is Christian and somewhat theological at that, that of Tagore is not narrowly religious but broadly Vedatic and Universal. He has been born to the tradition where poetry and religion are not different as W.B. Yeats has pointed out in his memorable introduction to the Gitanjali. If we consider the poetic force and essence as the test of Tagore he is as great as poets like Wordsworth, Browning and Sheley. In his breadth of outlook, spiritual equipoise and a mature understanding of the Cosmic and Human problems, Tagore is superior to the much praised and obscured T. S. Eliot, while poets like G. M. Hopkins and A.E. Houseman are at a very long distance. In intensity of religious experience and his expression in lyrics of sweetness and power, Tagore is in

the company of poets like William Blake and Fransis Thompson and W.B. Yeats. Tagore's initiative and penetrating insight into the child mind and its innocence and many facets of mystery and primal life and his delienation of it in many forms in his poems especially The Crescent Moon, Post Office and other plays and his stories are unsurpassed.

Apart from the serious content of the prose poems of the Gitanjali which has made it not only as epitome of Indian Philosophy but also an universal plaster for God-thirsty souls, they can be enjoyed for themselves alone as poetry, even ignoring the meaning of symbolism, embedded in many of them. Since the book which has enjoyed world-wide fame during the past half century is easily available, a few examples will be enough. A poet begins one song thus :

Early in the day it was whispered that we should sail in a boat, only thou and I, and never a soul in the world know's of this our pilgrimage to no country and no end.

In that shoreless ocean, at thy silently listening smile my songs would swell in melodies, free as waves, free from bondage of words and asks 'Is the time come not yet ?' Gitanjali—42

In other poems he sings : Beautiful is thy wristlet, decked with stars and cunningly wrought in myriad-coloured jewels. But more beautiful to me, thy sword with its curve of lightning like the outstretched wings of the divine bird of Vishnu, perfectly poised in the angry red light of sunset.

It quivers like the one last response of life in ecstasy of pain at the final stroke of death; it shines like the pure flame of being burning up earthly sense with one fierce flash. Ibid—53

What divine drink wouldst thou have, my God,

From this owerflowing cup of my life ?

My poet is it thy delight to see thy creation through my eyes and to stand at the portals of my ears silently to listen to thine own eternal harmony ?

Thy world is weaving words in my mind and thy joy is adding music to them. Thou givest thyself to me in love and then feelest thine own entire sweetness in me. Ibid—65

I was not aware of the moment when I first crossed the threshold of this life.....

Even so, in death the same unknown will appear as ever known to me.

And because I love this life, I know I shall love death as well.

The child cries out when from the right breast the mother takes it away, in the very next moment to find in the left one its consolation. Ibid—95

The value of song and poetry in providing a high way to the Divine is embodied in the following :

Ever in my life have I tought thee with my songs. It was they who led me from door to door, and with them have I felt about me, searching and touching my world.

It was my songs that taught me all the lessons I ever learnt; they showed me secret paths, they brought before my sight many a star on the horizon of my heart.

They guided me all the day long to the mysteries of the country of pleasure and pain, and last to what palace gate have they brought me in the evening at the end of journey ? Ibid—101

The language, music, rythm and the imagery of the above and many others like them are so exquisite and sublime and at the same time so subdued and tender in their emotional appeal that they outstrip some of the best of even Walt Whitman's.

For the Indians, Rabindranath Tagore remains, as stated in the beginning the greatest poet of the Indian Renaissance to inspire them to realise the glory of our Motherland and work for its uplift. Tagore's songs are mostly the subjective outpourings of his heart to his God, to whom he has given name and form of the hymnists of Vedic Saguna Brahmavadins, who have conceived of their God physically as a dear and near person of special form of beauty and peculiarities of adornment in a thousand relationships and let off their feelings of emotional self-surrender and passionate love in soul-stirring quatrains of sweetness and power. Probably Tagore's upbringing in a Brahma Samaj atmosphere where idolatory was a taboo is a reason for this. A careful study of Tagore's poems shows as already stated, that his religion and teaching are rooted mostly in the wisdom of the Upanishadic seers, and the passionate outpourings of the poets of the Bhakti School.

In the twenties of this century there was no school or college gatherlng or public meeting where the following magnificient prayer was not recited with gusto and enthusiasm :

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert and sand of dead habit:

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

Gitanjali—35

It is a common place to say that Tagore in his writings has proclaimed the message of the East and India to the world. Being a poet and seer he has done successfully than many a philosopher. And what is this message ? The natural culmination of Man's voyage throngh the storms and stresses of life and his passionate longing for the lotus feet of the Lord in the realisation of the unity of all life and existence and of the Absolute as Infinite Joy and Peace, because God who created this universe and sustains it by his love and grace fulfils himself in the ultimate surrender and absorption of all creation. This is the strain of most of his songs. One poem of Gitanjali concludes thus : "Thy world is weaving words in my mind and thy joy is adding music to them. Thou givest thyself to me in love and then feelest thine own entire sweetness in me." Another poem ends thus : From the words of the poet men take what meanings please them : yet their last meaning points to Thee". The universe has significance only in terms of human values. Beauty has no existence apart from the appreciation of man. All values have their birth in the mind of man. Even truth of science is reached through the process of observation and reasoning which is human; its value as truth being a creation of the human mind. Science can only deal with such facts as man can know and understand and the Absolute which is beyond the intellect of man can never be the subject matter of scientific investigations. The nature of the universe does not, howeever, depend upon the comprehension of the individual persons. There exists a universal mind of humanity which transcends. separates individual minds, and has an integrity of its own which is something more than the sum of its components. It endures beyond the life of the individual pe son. It is super-individual, it is universal mind. The truth of science receives its validity by reference to the standards of judgement of this universal Mind. Truth thus has its existence in the Universal Mind, and is independent of the

comprehension of the peculiarity of individual minds which are limited in space and time.

It is not merely a reasoning mind. It is also the ultimate ground of all other values. It is the Supreme Personality. "The God of this Universe whose mind we share in all true knowledge, love and Service".

Tagore's philosophy largely centres round the eternal query. What is the relation of the finite with the Infinite ? In Jivansmriti the poet writes "Meseems there is only one grand tune of all my compositions and it may conveniently be styled as the union of the Infinite with the finite in fitness." The tune starts right from Prakritir Pratisodh, a play written as early as 1884. His answers to the above query fall under two distinct categories. As a Vedantin of the Samkara school he extols the Absolute, disregarding the claims of finite individuals. Again as a Vedantin of the Ramanuja school and even more as a follower of the Bhakti cult or Vaishnavism, he weaves a firm organic relation between the Absolute and the finites. But he never accepted maya as an adequate explanation of the world. In fact on many occasions he has protested against it. "Coming to the theatre of life we foolishly sit with our back to the stage. We see the gilded pillars and decorations, we watch the coming and going of the crowd; and when the light is put out at the end, we ask ourselves in bewilderment, what is the meaning of it all ? If we paid attention to the inner stage, we could witness the eternal love-drama of the soul and be assured that it has pauses but no end, and that the gorgeous world-preparations are not a magnificient delirium of things." (Thoughts from Tagore P–29) In the second volume of Santiniketan he raises the query–Is it maya that has compelled Brahman to express Himself ? And he answers : There is no maya. His manifestation is in Ananda or bliss is His holy manifestation." Santiniketan Vol II P-339. What, then, is the real teaching of Rabindranath ? Is he a pure monist, a Sankarite or a Vaishnavite ? In his address in the Mandir he shows himself as an ardent follower of Sankara. He asserts 'Yes, I shall become Brahman. I cannot think of any other idea but this. I will definitely say, I will become the Infinite...The river says, I shall become the sea. This is not her audacity but truth and hence humility. And this is why she aspires after an union with the sea." Santiniketan, Vol II, P. 336. Again in Sadhana : Yes, we must become Brahman. We must not think from avowing this. Our existence is meaningless if we never can expect to realise the highest perfection that there is. If we have an aim and yet can never reach it, then it is no aim at all." Here we have the true Advaita note. The quintessence of Sankara's teaching also is— I shall become Brahman for I am He. The diversities that we see around us are only phenomenal. Ontologically, there is only the Brahman.

According to the poet, ultimate Reality is one. Monism is the key word with the poet and all through his writings are strewn the Upanishadic texts that declare the oneness of the ultimate Reality. Nowhere in his works does he favour dualism or pluralism. At places he is chary of describing the Absolute. The absolute according to Sankara, cannot be described, for it is beyond words and logic. Tagore also sings of the Absolute as "the inscrutable without name and form" Gitanjali, No. 95. Also, "There where spreads the infinite sky for the soul to take her flights in, reigns the stainless white radiance. There is no day nor night, nor form, nor colour and never, never a word". Gitanjali-No.-67. The Absolute is Anirvacaniya or the inexplicable. The poet says that the Absolute is formless but it manifests itself in many forms. We cannot say how is it possible. We cannot say that we know the Absolute nor we can we say that we do not know it. The Absolute is inexplicable.

But there is another side of his teachings. As one in sympathy with Vaishnava or Bhakti cult, he believes in what might be called qualified monism. According to this idea the finites are not mere passing phenomena. They contribute their share to the ultimate Reality. The Absolute needs the finites and needs them most. Without the finites, the eternal love drama is at an end.

"O : Thou Lord of all Heavens, where would be thy love if I were not." Gitanjali, No. 56

In Fruit Gathering :

"I came and you woke and the skies blossomed with lights.....Yet I know the endless thirst in your heart for sight of me, the thirst that cries at my door in the repeated knockings of sunrise." Gitanjali—LXXX.

Tagore tends to look upon the ultimate Reality as Mind. This Infinite Mind is the creator and we are the finite representations of the Infinite Mind. My mind is not separate from yours. Had it been so, no communication between mind and mind would be possible. My mind is universal and though it is circumscribed by ego and matter it is not hereby set apart. Tagore explains the Hindu Gayatri mantra thus; "Let me contemplate the adorable splendour of Him who created the earth, the air, and the starry spheres and sends the power of comprehension within our minds". The same Reason which is permeating Nature is also in man, the finite individual, and this is why it is possible for men to understand Nature. The external Nature and man's reason are the expressions of the Supreme Reason. We thus see two different and distinct trends of Rabindranath's Philosophy. which of these is the poet's preference ? There are some who think that in his explanation of the Upanishads Tagore

writes in the vein of absolutism but in fact he belives in concrete idealism. But this is not convincing, for the Upanishads can be explained in both ways. It cannot be denied that at certain moments the poet's mind has been seized by the supreme glory of the Absolute. Borne by such feelings, he has occasionally minimised the worth of the finites of the world. But again in the lyrics, in his conception of the Absolute, he believes in an abiding relation between the Infinite and the finites. Nowhere in his writings do we come across a reasoned reconciliation of these distinct views. Can it be suggested that the poet is torn between the two possibilities and cannot decide between them ? This again is unwarranted for quite a large number of his lyrics speak of concrete idealism. On the whole the poet shows a bias for idealism of the concrete variety.

If the Absolute is truth (Satyam), goodness (Sivam) and beauty (Sundaram) then the Absolute is not a barren and static Reality. On the other hand, he is highly dynamic. While interpreting the poet interrogates the moving river on change : "You move on, move on, move in Speed. You fly undaunted and seldom do you look back". The life process is moving endlessly in an infinite pursuit. This is why we find life around us to be dynamic and progressing. But change is not the last word of Rabindra philosophy. The Absolute, according to the poet, contains changes but does not Himself change. He is changeless but His expressions are in change and movement.

If the ultimate Realty be Sivam, how can there be evil ? How can we explain the evils and sufferings of the world ? According to Tagore, "the question why there is evil in existence is the same as why there is imperfection or in other words why there is creation at all" Sadhana-P-47 The questions of evil and finiteness are thus intertwined. Evil or pain is in the universe and nobody can deny it. But the question is : Is it final ? our poet says : "Pain which is the feeling of our finiteness, is not a fixture in our life. It is not an end in itself, as joy is, To meet with it is to know that it has no part in the true permanence of creation." Sadhana-p-48. The Absolute according to him, owns the finites of the world but does it not on that account own the imperfections and evils that beset finiteness ? Somehow his Absolute does not own the evils of the finite and phenomenal world. Is evil then an illusion ? Is it due to maya ? It is hard to reconclie the poet's Absolute with the Existence of evil in the finite realm.

How to tackle and transform evil and suffering ? The poet says, evil can be made good, To conquer evil and suffering one has to cultivate goodness. What is goodness ? "My answer is that when a man begins to have an extended vision of his true self, when he realises that he is much more than at present he seems to be, he begins to get conscious of his moral nature. Then he grows

aware of that which he is yet to be, and the state not yet experienced by him becomes more real than that under his direct experience. Necessarily, his perspective of life changes, and his will takes the place of his wishes. For will is the supreme wish of the larger life whose objects are not for the most part before our sight. Then comes the conflict of our lesser man with our greater man, of our wishes with our will, of the desires affecting our senses with the purpose that is within our heart. Then we begin to distinguish between what we immediately desire and what is good. For good is that which is desirable for our greater self." Sadhana-P-54. Evil and suffering will be conquered when the finite individual sees himself in the Great or in other words, lives the life of goodness.

When evils beset us, the poet tells us not to lose heart in cowardice. Come what may, moor in your own self. Evils and pains shall come and shake the very foundations of life but never, never lose confidence. In the dark gloomy days of pain and sorrow, he poet's prayer is,

"Let me not pray to be sheltered from dangers but to be fearless in facing them.

Let me not beg for the stilling of my pain but for the heart to conquer it" Fruit Gathering, No. LXXIX

The finite souls live in this world of pain and evil and tries to conquer them by leading a life of goodness. But what is the ultimate destiny of the finite individual ? Can he realise the Infinite, and if so, in what form does the realisation take place ? Rabindranath's answers to these problems are clear and definite. For him, pain and evil are not the final state of things. Through death Soulhood is sure to win and pass into a state of fuller perfection. Death, according to him, is not a negative Principle. Again, life is not the opposite of death or alien to it. On the other hand, one is the complement of the other. In Gitanjali

"O, Thou the last fulfilment of life, Death, my death,

Come and whisper to me :

Day after day Have I kept watch for thee;

For thee have I borne the joys and pangs of life.

All that I am, that I have, that I hope

And all my love have ever flowed towards thee

In depth of secrecy. One final glance from thine eyes and my life will be over thine own.

The flowers have been woven and the garland is ready for the brideg-room. After the wedding the bride shall leave her home and meet her alone in the solitude of night." Gitanjali, No. 91

What we need to know and understand from the above passage, that his philosophy is the philosophy of becoming. All evils and pains are the marks of "want of adjustment of our individual self to universal self," they should stimulate us to rise above narrow selfishness and find our unity with the universal, the supreme perfection and joy, In his Hibbert Lectures he points out the Upanishadic parable of two birds sitting on the same bough, one feeding and the other watching it fed, an image of the relationship of the infinite being and with the finite self. Tagore is of the opinion that if man is imbued with the universal identification of the spirit of his self with that of nature and man, he can realise it in action, in love, in art and in religion. His life becomes joyful and harmonious in every sphere; Tagore believes that the self is indestructible, hence some selves (men) who practice hatred and various kinds of destructive activity may gradually dissoilve, since they cannot survive in a uuiverse where love is the basic law of survival and love looks not with the eyes but with the mind. The single road to world peace and the secret of the way to world brotherhood is really no secret at all, but exceedingly clear from the writings of Rabindranath Tagore to posses and to intelligently practice the ideal of LOVE.

Rabindranath Tagore may not be a man of religion as the word is generally understood, but we find in his works the marriage of Poetry and Religion. Poetry ennobled by spiritual content, Religion adorned with the irresistible appeal of Beauty. The combined product emerging is a symbolism and a mysticism which speaks directly to man's heart and mind, and which draws its strength from all of the great religions.

Tagore rejected materialism of the type represented by Lucretius in olden days and Charvaka in India because such materialism does not make for thought. If life is more than an aspect of matter, it does not make for life of spiritual values.

Tagore was a great humanist. The humanism of Tagore has two aspects : the actuality of individual joy and suffering in the concrete, with the reality of a world culture of humanity as its background. Both give full scope for creation, one in the life of action, and the other in the life of spirit. Rabindranath has worked unwearingly to relieve the distress due to flood and famine, chronic poverty, ill-health, and want of education in his own villages of Bengal; equally untiringly he has endeavoured to spread to the four corners of the world

the message of the coming together of the races of mankind, of universal humanity. The poet is not interested in the arid region of abstract principles; upliftment has no appeal for him. He does not believe in the cult of organised patriotism nor in that of an unfocussed cosmopolitanism. His is not the philosophy of negation, of barren renunciation, but a realisation completely comprehensive. Tagore has placed his faith in the Kingdom of Man on earth, rich with variety of human relationships. For him true freedom lies in the growth of personality from the life of the flsh to the life of the spirit which finds its supreme expression in the divinity of Man the Eternal.

Tagore as an educationist, he has preserved in his ideal of Visva-bharati the international university, the spirit of the ancient ideal of the Tapo-vanas or forest-retreats of the Teachers of India-its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its practical touch with nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. The Poet's mental outlook is universal. He claimed for his people all knowledge and culture whatever its origin and their province. This gave an opportunity for any who may desire to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan. He wanted that there should be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution. Thus Visvabharti stood for neither for merely literary, nor for merely vocational education, but for both and more. Tagore wanted both man the knower and man the maker. Unless there is a better understanding of the spiritual and cultural aspects between the East and the West, a great calamity stares the world in the face. But should such an understanding be an accomplished fact, it might be the precurser of universal peace and brotherhood in this world. If this vision ever comes true, the future history of the world will attribute it most to the two great men of our age Gandhi and Tagore, both sons of the Aryan race. Professor Gilbert Murray Once said that 'Dogma divides, but religious experience unites' Tagore is a Mahapurusha who brought this unity and peace to the millions of people through his poetry, musie, art, painting, philosophy, religion, etc.,

Malayan Premier paying his trlbute referred Tagore "as a man of peace". If he were alive to-day he would be urging for peace and good-will in a world full of tension.

Ramjiban Acharyya

Political and Social Condition of Ancient India as Reflected in Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa

'Mālavikāgnimitram' is one of the three well known dramas of Kālidāsa. The drama reveals the story of love and marriage of 'Agnimira' the king of Vidiśā with 'Mālavikā' the daughter of Vidarbha. Agnimitra while on the throne of Vidiśā, the fire of inter-conflict in the land of Vidarbha gave a chance and offered an opportunity to Agnimitra to make an attempt to spread and establish his power and authority there. Mādhabasena, the brother of Mālavikā was one of the kings of Vidarbha. In order to be all in all in Vidarbha and to be the winner in the game of inter-conflict and cruel quarrel Mādhabasena wanted to make good relation with Agnimitra by giving his sister Mālavikā in marriage with him. With the plan in mind accompanied by Sumati, his minister, (Sumati's Sister Kauśikī a lady companion to Mālavikā, and some of his followers, Mādhabasena while coming to Vidisā a governor to the frontier region of Yajñasena, the antagonist and another king of Vidarbha all on a sudden attacked them and imprisoned Mādhabasena. This time Mābhabasena's minister Sumati tried to save Mālavikā and Kauśiki. But unfortunately, some plunderers attacked them in the heart of a forest, killed Sumati and stole Mālavikā leaving Kausiki fainted, there.

Bīrasena, the brother of Dhāriṇī, the chief queen of Agnimitra, was incharge of a frontier fort on the bank of the river Narmada. Bīrasena rescued Mālavikā from the hands of the plunderers and presented her to Dhārinī. There in the palace of Vidiśā Mālavikā, the exquisitely beautiful maiden, and Agnimitra, the then king, fell in love with each other. Bīrasena in the meantime defeated Yajnasena and ended the imprisonment of Mādhabasena. The power of Agnimitra with full authority was established in Vidarbha when Agnimitra came to know everything of Mālavikā, he married her and divided Vidarbha into two parts and placed Yajñasena and Mādhabasea his new brothers-in-law, in those parts.

But is there any historical truth behind this episode ? If there is any, what is the political situation ? To find out the political situation, we notice the genealogies of history from the ancient India, and peep into the Puranas for reason.

The two genealogies are given here as we get from the history of ancient India and Puranas.

Maurya Dynasty (324 — 187 B. C.)
According to the Puranas

1. Chandragupta
2. Bindusara
3. Asoka

Matsya Purāṇa

3. Asoka (Asoka's grandson ?)
4. Dasaratha
5. Sampati
6. Satadhanvee
7. Brihadratha

Vāyu and Brahmānda

3. Asoka
4. Kunala
5. Bindupalita
6. Indrapalita
7. Devavarma
8. Satadhanu
9. Brihadratha

Sunga Dynasty (187—75 B.C.)

1. Pusyamitra
2. Agnimitra
3. Sujyestha or Vasujestha
4. Vasumitra
5. Andhraka (Bhadraka, Andraka Antaka)
6. Pulindaka
7. Chosa or (Ghosabasu)
8. Bajramitra
9. Bhagabata
10. Devabhumi

It is clear from the two genealogies that Agnimitra, the hero of our drama is the son of Pushyamitra. But who is Pushyamitra and how does he establish the new dynasty of Sunga ? What is the political situation behind it ?

We owe to Bāṇa the author of Harsacarita and Kādambarī some details of Pushyamitra. Bana told how Pushyamitra the senapati or commander-in-chief, assembled the Maurya army and assassinated the king Brihadratha, the last king of Maurya dynasty at the time of military parade, We quote here some lines from the Cambrdige Shorter History of India by J. Allan, Sir T. Wolsley Haig, H. H. Dodwell and R. R. Sithi.

"About 185 B. C. the last Maurya, Brihadratha ruling over a much diminished empire was assassinated by his Commander-in-Chief Pushyamitra who seized the throne" (Page—42).

The Oxford History of India by V. A. Smith says "Brihadratha, the last prince of the dynasty was slain about 185 B. C. by his Commander-in-Chief, Pushyamitra (or Pushpamitra) Sunga". (Page—38).

The Puranas say that Pushyamitra belonged to the Sunga family. According to Panini the Sungas belonged to the Brahmin class of Bharadwaja.

It is known that Pushyamitra's kingdom (empire) included the cities of Pātaliputra, Ayodhyā and Vidisā. According to Divyābadāna Pushyamitra's empire included Jālandhara and Sākala in Punjab with Pātaliputra as the capital town.

The Cambridge Shorter History of India narrates—"It is possible to make certain deductions about Pushyamitra's reign from Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra, although the play was written five hundred years after the event with which it deals. Its hero Agnimitra, the ruler of Vidisā was in love with Mālavikā, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha. The reference to the war between Pushyamitra and Yajñasena of Vidarbha, suggests that the apportionment of Maurya territory between the Sungas and Andhras was not completed without bloodshed, if we assume that the ruler of Vidarbha was a feudatory of the Andhras as seems likely. It has also been suggested that Kharrirla, the famous Kalinga king, was the enemy of Pushyamitra, and the Hathigumpha inscription has been interpreted to make Kharvela claim a victory over him. The two must in any case interpreted to make Kharvela claim a victory over him. The two must in any case have been contemporaries and rivals although it is difficult to say whether they came into actual conflict. The play also contains a reference to a horse sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra, in the course of its wanderings the body of troops escorting the horse under the leadership of Pushyamitra, encountered a body of Yavanas (Greeks) on the south bank of the Indus. A fierce fight resulted in a victory for the Indians and the prince brought his charge safely home. There is no doubt that there were encounters between the Greeks and Indians in Pushyamitra's reign !!"

(Page No. 43-44)

विदितमस्तु—योऽसौ राजयज्ञदीक्षितेन मया राजपुत्रशतपरिवृतं वसुमित्रं गोप्तारमादिश्य वत्सराय निवर्त्तनीयो निरर्गलस्तुरङ्गमो विसर्ज्जितः स सिन्धोर्दक्षिणे रोधसि चरन्नश्वानीकेन यवनेन प्रार्थितः। ततः द्वयोः सेनयोर्महानासीत् संमर्दः।

धारिणी विषादं नाटयति

राजा। —कथमीदृशं संवृत्तम्? (पुनर्वाचयति)

ततः परान् पराजित्य वसुमित्रेण धन्विना।
प्रसह्य ह्रियमानो मे वाजिराजो विवर्त्तितः॥

We came to know from the play Mālavikāgnimitram that the crown prince Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra served as his father's viceroy at Vidisā. There was most probably another viceroy Kobala as the ancient history of India narrates again that Agnimitra's brother-in-law was placed in charge of the fort on the frontier on the banks of Narmada.

सो भद्दिना अन्तवालदुग्गे णम्मदातीरि ठाविदो।

The play refers to an independent Kingdom Vidarbha by name. Yajñasena, the king of Vidarbha, is stated to have been a relation of the 'Sachiva of Maurya Emperor and thus a natural rival of Pushyamitra.

प्रकृत्यमित्रः प्रतिकूलचारो च मे वैदर्भ। तद् यातव्यपक्षे स्थितस्य पूर्वसंकल्पितसमुन्मूलनाय वीरसेनमुखं दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय।

The relation of the two lands became very strained. Kālidāsa relates how Agnimitra's friend Mādhabsena was released at first. Agnimitra then at once gave order to Vīrasena to invade Vidarbha. Vīrasena defeated Yajñasena and released Mādhabasena. The land of Vidarbha was divided by Agnimitra between two causins Yajñasena and Mādhabasena but the king of Vidisā remained their suzerain.

तत्र भवतोर्भ्रात्रोर्यज्ञसेनमाधवसेनयोर्द्वैराज्यमिदानीमवस्थापयितुकामोऽस्मि

तौ पृथग्वरदाकूले शिष्टामुत्तरदक्षिणे।
नक्तन्दिवं विभज्योभौ शीतोष्णकिरणाविव॥

The river Varadā is a very ancient river in India having its name changed now as Wardha in central provinces, the present M. P.

Hence it is clear that no solidarity and integrity were maintained in ancient India. Some attempts were made to protect the frontier regions of India. Accor- to Kālidāsa the conflict between Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra and the general of Pushyamitra and a Yavana on the southern or right bank of river Sindhu which may be taken to be a river of Punjab, was the conflict between the Indians. Though the conflict is described by the poet in connection with the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra the politics of Mālavikāgnimitra is complex with inter-conflicts and outer conflicts. Both The Age of Imperial Unity by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar published from Bharatiya Vidya Bhawana and Political History of Ancient India, 4th edition throw much light on the subject.

Ahout Sunga—Andhra conflict Nilkanta Sastri says in his 'A History of South India' "In the drama Mālavikāgnimitra Kālidāsa mentions a victory of the

Sungas over the Andhras which was doubtless an episode in the struggle which ended with the final victory of the Andhras" (Page 89–90)

Sinha and Banerjee in 'History of India' speak about the political condition of Mālavikāganimitra "Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra, the hero of Kālidāsa's drama Mālavikāgnimitram. During his father's reign he had served as viceroy of Vidisa and conducted the war against Vidarbha. Very little information is available about his successors" (Page–99).

Under the sovereignty of a king, the system of Government by the Viceroys, the protection of the frontier provinces, the army under Commanders-in-Chief for foreign aggression, the system of punishment or defence power, (दंडचक्र), the attacks of the Greek invaders and counter attack by the Indians, the system of ministry (अमात्य, मन्त्रिपरिषद्), keen devotion to the Shastras (तेन ह्यवितथं तन्त्रकारवचनम्) are the main points of the politics in Mālavikāgnimitram,

The Ministers were well-versed in politics. The Amātya of Agnimitra says-

अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरूढमूलत्वात् ।
नवसंरोपणशिथिलस्तरुरिव सुकरः समद्धर्तुम् ॥

The word दंडचक्र refers to the whole system of punishment. The king was for his subjects only (राजा प्रजानुरंजनात्). The last verse of the drama said to the Chief Queen runs thus.

त्वं मे प्रसादसुमुखो भव देवि ! नित्यमेतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपक्षहेतोः ।
आशास्यमीति विगमप्रभृति प्रजानां समत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे ॥

The social picture in Mālavikāgnimitram is painted by our poet Kālidāsa. It is not impossible to get some accounts of the social condition reflected in the drama. The poet like Kālidāsa may soar higher and higher in the firmament of imagination, but he, being born and brought up in the society, can not deny it.

Kālidāsa gave us the picture of the high and low life in the society. The high life of the royal family as well as the low life of the society and the general standard of living we get here.

About the nature of the drama S. N. Das-Gupta and S. K. De remark in the History of Sanskrit literature.

"It is a light-hearted comedy of Court life in five acts, in which love is a petty game and in which the hero need not be of heroic proportion, nor the heroine anything but a charming and attractive maiden"

The picture of the 'Court-life' gives us various aspects of the society.

Arthur A, Macdonell remarks befits to be quoted in this connection :

"The subject is not heroic or divine plot being derived from the ordinary palace life of Indian princes, and thus supplying peculiarly good pictures of social conditions of the time. The hero is a historical king of the dynasty of the Sungus who reigned at Vidisa (Bhilsa) in the second century B. C. The play describes the love of king Agnimitra and of Mālavikā, one of the attendant of the queen, who jealously keeps her out of the king's sight on account of her great beauty. The various endeavours of the king to see and converse with Mālavikā give rise to numerous little intrigues".

(A History of Sanskrit Literature)

The Sunga kings were generally the worshippers of the Sun. "The names of the dynasty and some of his descendants ending in 'Mitra' have suggested the hypothesis that Pushyamitra may have been an Iranian, a worshipper of the sun 'Mithra'. With Hinduism sun-worship is consistent and uptil now in India the sun-worshippers are found here and there. Mālavikāgnimitra records that Pushyamitra performed the Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice). In the 'Nāndī' verse of the drama as in the Abhijñānsākuntalam Kālidāsa's prayer is to Lord Shiva.

एकैश्वर्ये स्थितोऽपि प्रणतवहुफले यः स्वयं कृत्तिवासाः
कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताद् यतीनाम् ।
अष्टाभिर्यस्य कृत्स्नं जगदपि तनुभिर्विभ्रतो नाभिमानः
सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसो वृत्तिमीशः ॥ (मालविकाग्निमित्रम् २।२)

Another verse in Mālavikāgnimitra is quoted in this connection

देवानामिदमामनन्ति मुनयः कान्तं क्रतुं चाक्षुषम्
रुद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा ।
त्रैगुण्योद्भवमत्र लोकचरितं नानारसं दृश्यते
नाट्यं भिन्नरुचेर्जनस्य वहुधाप्येकं समाराधकम् ॥ २।२८

We can think Shiva-Cult prevailed strongly in this society and Śiva's beloved Umā was worshipped in the society.

The picture of the low-life Kālidasā points here uahasitatingly. Plunderers and thieves were there. Bīrasen who rescued Mālavikā from the hands of some plunderers. In the third act of the drama we hear from Bidūsaka

उदकान्तमूले विमहिले विमथितेन कुम्भीलकेन सन्धिच्छेद्यः शिक्षितव्यः ।

This speaks about burglary.

The hunters used to catch deer by charming songs, as Irabatī speaks :

व्याधजनगीतगृहीतचित्तया हरिणया इव ।

As women were deceived by men in love matters, women cannot believe men :

अविश्वसनीयाः पुरुषाः

It was mere laymen in the Court-life than in the general life of the society.

The society had its market places here and there. In the market place there slept the large-bodied ox. Nipunikā, a lady attendant to Irābatī speaks :

भद्दिनि ? एषः द्वारे समुद्रगृहस्य विपणिगतः इव गौतमः आसीनः निद्रायते in act iv.

In the market place restaurants were there as Vidūsaka says :

विपणिकन्दुरिव उदराभ्यन्तरं दह्यते in act II

The snakes and snake-bites were common in the society. The experts also in the medicines for snake-bites were in the society when Vidūsaka said that a snake had bitten the king, Call, for a विषवैद्य, ध्रुवसिद्धि

"सम्प्रति विषवैद्यानां कर्म। जयसेने ? ध्रुवसिद्धिं क्षिप्रमाहूयताम्।" Act IV

The astrologers used to make prediction about the influence of the planets on human life

"दैवचिन्तकैर्विज्ञापितो राजा ? सोपसर्गं वो नक्षत्रम्। तदवश्यं सर्वबन्धमोक्षः क्रियतामिति" in act IV

The Jyotisa-Vedanga was studied in the society. The society had foretellers who used to roam from one pilgrim to another.

इयं पितरि जीवति केनापि देवयात्रागतेन सिद्धादेशकेनसाधुना मत्पक्षम् व्यादिष्टा वत्सरमात्रामियं प्रेष्या भावमनुभूय ततः सदृशभर्तृगामिनो भविष्यति। Act. II

In a simile Vidūsaka said about the drunkards in act III

वयस्य ? एसाक्खु सीहुपानुव्वेजिअस्स मच्छखिडआ उपनदा

The drunkards were fond of the fry of eggs to fish.

The Prison system was in the kingdom योऽसौ भर्त्रा विजयदण्डैः विदर्भनाथं वशीकृत्य बन्धनात् मोचितकुमारः माधवसेनः नाम, तस्य इयं कनीयसी भगिनी मालविका नाम।

Some information about the cremation ground we hear in this drama from Kālidāsa in act III "भवानपि सूनापरिचरः गृध्रः इव आमिष-लोलुपः भीरूकश्च।

The dead bodies were burnt in those days. The society possessed charitable dispensaries from which medicines were distributed to the poor society.

साधु ? दरिद्र आतुर इव वैद्येन औषधं दीयमानम् इच्छसि

The painters were there at that time. They used to draw fine pictures. The king of Vidarbha saw Mālavikā at first in a picture.

चित्रगतायामस्यां कान्ति विसंवादिशङ्कि मे हृदयम् ।
सम्प्रति शिथिलसमाधिं मन्ये येनेयमालिखिता ॥

पारिव्राजिका was the Bauddha female mendicant. That the information was sent through the tellers is got in this drama "राजा—(आनुवाचितलेखममाव्यं विलोकय) वाहतक ? कि प्रतिपाद्यते वैदर्भ ? in act I

The beasts and the ants specially the ox, serpents, monkeys (विदूषक—साहुरे पिङ्गल वानर, साहु), The poisonous ants (निपुणिका–पिपीलिकाभिः दष्टम् in act III) etc which were found in the society are mentioned in the drama. The city of Vidisā had a great reputation for her wealth and pomp, The royal life of Vidisā is painted so minutely that we get some picture of the social conditions.

Polygamy was common to the kings. The King of Vidisa Agnimitra had several queens. Among the queens there was a keen contest to win the love and favour of the king. The Chief Queen Dhārinī who lost her beauty and due to age could not bear to see Irābatī in full blooms of youth with beautiful figure favoured by the king. The chief Queen nourished and favoured Mālavikā in order to lessen the pride of Irabatī. That न मानिनी संसहतेऽन्यसंगमम् was also one of the causes. Female education was not unknown in the society, specially in the case of the high class people. Songs and dances, and song cum-dance were also taught in the harem. हरदत्त and जणदास are two names of the teachers in songs and dance drama. Koudiki the female Buddhist monk was the judge in the quarrel in the court of Agnimitra. This proves the efficiency of women in Court also. Various kinds of ornaments they wore. The women used to adopt various means to enhance their beauty.

Love quarrels were common in rhyal life

रक्ताशोकरुचा विशेषितगुणो विम्वाधरालक्तकः
प्रत्याख्यातविशेषकं कुरुवकं श्यामावदातारुणम् ।
आक्रान्ता तिलकक्रियापि तिलकैर्लग्नद्विरेफाञ्जनम्
सावज्ञव मुखप्रसाधनविधौ श्रीमाधवो योषिताम् ॥

इरावती—इअं पि हदाशा तुमं एव्व अनुसरदि ।
(रशनामादाय राजानं ताड़यितुमिच्छति)

राजा—क्यस्य ? एषा इरावती
वाष्पसारा हेमकाञ्चिगुणेन श्रोणिविम्वादप्युपेक्षाच्युतेन ।
चण्डी चण्ड' हन्तुमभ्युद्यता मां विद्युद्दाम्ना मेघराजीव विन्ध्यम् ॥ II in act III

The system of album where various pictures are kept carefully was in the society. Mālavikā looked upon an album. The ladies used to drink wine. They sent presents to learned Brahmins. Gardens with flowers and fruits, many

rooms decorated charmingly, were in the King's palace. Spring fesrivals were observed in ancient India. Women used to swing in the see-saw

(ततः प्रविशति युक्तमदा इरावती चेटी च)

इरा—हञ्जे । मदेन ग्लायमानमात्मानं आर्यपुत्रदर्शने त्वरयति, चरणानि पुनर्न उपसर्पति ।

निपुणिका—ननु सम्प्राप्ताः स्म दोलागृहम् । I in act III

Royal life is also a part of the society. Besides, the picture of the royal life it gives some accounts of the high clases people.

Gyula Wojtilla

On the Sanskrit and MIA names of pulses in ancient and early medieval India

The importance of agriculture in the economical life of ancient and early medieval India is properly recognised, however, the serious study of the agricultural technology or the plants cultivated does not go back to the farther past and the number of the relevant papers on these subjects is relatively few.[1] In this connection Professor K. L. Mehra justly remarked that "the knowledge of plants and their usage has almost been neglected by scholars in spite of the wealth of information available from numerous sources"[2] and A. Ray and D. K. Chakrabarti may be right saying that "there is still not a single meaningful discussion on the problem in the Indian context" i. g. on the agriculture.[3]

I am of the opinion that a comprehensive study of the history of agriculture must be proceeded by a series of special studies : linguistical, archaeological, geographical etc. I am going to carry out the linguistical study on the basis of the material collected from the different Sanskrit sources.

---

1. The edition of the Kṛṣiparāśara by G.P. Majumdar and S. Ch. Banerji (Calcutta 1960) was a real milestone in the research. The outstanding paper written by Professor Lallanji Gopal (Agricultural technicalities in ancient India. Allahabad 1962) together with his numerous studies on certain problems represent a very solid ground for the researches. A highly valuable volume was the "Agriculture in ancient India" published by the Indian Council for Agricultural Research (New Delhi 1964). My paper "The plough as described in the Kṛṣiparāśara in ; Altorientalische Forschungen vol. 5. (Berlin 1977. 245-252) and "Terminological studies of selected plant names of the Kṛṣiprāśara" in wirrens-chaftliche Zeitsehri ft der Humbodt universitat ZU Berlin. Ges. Sprachw R. 25/Berlin 1976/3. pp 377-378." are just before releasing.
2. K. L. Mehra, History of masūra—pulse in India and its cultural Sgnificance. in : VIJ vol. X. P. 1-2. (1972) p. 131 f.
3. A. Ray–D. K. Chakrabarti, Studies in Ancient Indian technology and production. A review. in ; JESHO vol. XVIII./2. (1975) pp. 219–232.

Here I take a group of plants cultivated, i. g. the pulses and I would give answer to the following two main questions : 1. the historical development of the cultivation reflected in the Sanskrit and MIA sources 2. the culturolinguistic provenance of these names.[1]

1. ĀDHAKĪ f. the pulse Cajanus Indicus Spreng. "Pigeon pea". SuśruS I, 73, 9 ? 79, 21; II, 64, 2; 77, 7; 185, 21; 489, 15. AbhidhāCi 1175; AnekāSaṁ III, 10; Pravacana. JOHNSON, 167ff Pk āḍhaī ? f. Paṇṇa 1. The word is unitelligible from the etymological point of view, it may be connected with āḍhyaḥ ? EWA I. 613.

2. KALĀYA m. "a sort of pea".
MahāBhā XIII 5469; SuśruS I, 25, 7; 70, 5; 73, 8; 79, 21; 197, 13; II, 48, 10; 196, 18; 353, 9; BṛSaṁ XL, 5; AmaK II, 9, 16; AbhidhāCi 1170; Pravacana /JOHNSON 167ff; ŚiśuVa 13, 21
The forms kalāva- occurs in Buddhist Sanskrit texts ; MahāVyu 5662; Kv 48, 5; Divy. 499, 25.
Pa kalāya m. "the chick pea" M 1, 245; Sl, 150; A V, 170; Sn p. 124; J. III. 370, DhA I, 139.
Pk. kalāya m. Ṭhā 3, 5; Anu 5.
Origin is uncertain EWA I, 189

3. KULATTHA m. "a kind of plsue" Dolichos uniflorus.
P IV, 4, 4; MahāBhā XIII, 5468; SuśruS I, 73, 16; 80, 6; 108, 6; 145, 18;

---

1. The abbreviations of the title of hand books, dictionaries periodicals, and languages are taken from R. L. Turner, A comparative dictionary of the Indoaryan languages. (London 1962-66) and M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Worterbuch des Altindischen (Heidelberg 1953). The abbreviations of the Sanskrit sources are given in accordance with the list of the "Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles" (Specimen Fascicule). Ed. by—A. M. Ghatage and M. A. Mehendale. (Poona 1973). In the case of the Pali and Prakrit sources I followed the Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary ed. by T. W. Rhys Days Davids and W. Steede (London 1965[5]) and the Pāia—Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo. A comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi dictionary with Sanskrit equivalents etc by Pandit Hargovind Das T. Sheth. (Varanasi 1963)[2]

Other abbreviatoins used :

GUPTA—D. K. Gupta, Society and Culture in Time of Daṇḍin. Delhi 1972.
JOHNSON—H. M. Johnson, Grains of Mediaeval India. JAOS 61. (1941) pp. 167-171.
KV—Kāraṇḍavyūha.
LOSCH—H. Losch, Rājadharma. Bonn 1959.
Pravacana—Pravacanasāroddhāra of Nemicandra.

198, 11; II, 84, 10; 459, 8; MahāVyu 5662, BṛSaṁ XXIX, 5; LIII, 36. 114; LXXXVI, 22; YogYā 7, 18; CāraS /Sūtrasthāna/ XXVII, 26; Pa. kulattha m. "a kind of vetch" M 1, 245.

Pk. kulatthī Ṭhā 5, 3; Ṇāyā 1, 5; kulattha Śrā 18.

The word is a Dravidian loanword. EWA I. 237.

4. KULMĀSA m. species of Dolichos ?

The sources suggest the meaning "bad bean" ChāndoU I, 10, 2 : kutsitā māṣāḥ and BhāgP kulmāṣa-/inc pd/ "worm-eaten grain" ? Pk. kummāsa m. Ogn 359, Paṇh 2, 5. = urad m. "horse bean".

It may be of Dravidian origin. EWA I. 242.

5. KṚṢṆACAṆAKA m. "black chick pea" a kind of Cicer arietinum Lin. Pravacana/JOHNSON, 167 ff/

For the etymology s. caṇaka-.

6. KHALAKULA m. Dolichos uniflorus Lam. or Dolichos biflorus ŚatBr XIV, 9, 3, 22; KauśiSu 82; BṛĀraU VI, 3, 13; The form khalá-kula needs further explanation. The form kula shows Dravidian origin. EWA I. 305.

7. KHÁLVA m. "a kind of grain or leguminous plant" Phaseolus radiatus. AV II, 31, 1; V, 23, 8; KāṭhS XVIII, 9; KapiKāS XXVIII, 9; VājaS XVIII, 12; XIX, 22; XXI, 29; VājaS / K / XIX, 4, 4; BṛAraU VI, 3, 22; BṛĀraU /K/ VI, 3, 13: TaitS. II, 5, 1, 7 gives the form kharva·

The word is of uncertain origin EWA I. 307.

8. CAṆAKA m. "the chick-pea" Cicer arietinum. Lin.

SuśruS I, 73. 8; 197, 13; II, 77, 1; 421, 1; AmaK II, 9, 18; PañcT I, 132 / APTE / BṛSaṁ XV, 14; XVI, 3; XXIX, 5; AbhidhāCi 1174; SimāDvā V. frame story V.; KathāSaSāg VI, 40 ff. / PW /; Sprüche 7677.

Pk. Caṇa, caṇaa m. id Jaṃ 3; Gā 557, De I, 21. It is probably of Dravidian origin EWA I. 649. The IE connections are very liable.

9. CAVALAKA m. "the cow-pea"

Pravacana / JOHNSON 167f /

Pk. Cavala m. = H. boṛā : Śrā 18.

Doubtful.

10. TRIPUṬA [tri-puṭa] m, "a kind of pulse" (MW) Convolvulus Turpethus.

Other forms: tripuṭā, tripuṭī, tripuṭaka.

BṛSaṁ LXXXI, 17, LXXXII, 6; AnekāSaṁ III, 162; tripuṭaka : Pravacana / JOHNSON. 16 ff "chickling vetch"

Pk tiṇḍaya m. Mālava deś meṅ prasiddha dhānyaviśeṣ Śrā 18.

B. teorā "the pulse Labhyrus Sativus" TURNER 6°35.

The word fairly belongs to the common vocabulary of the human civilization / Kulturwörter / EWA I. 535.

11. NIṢPĀVA m. Dolichos sinensis L.
Mahābhā XIII, 5498, SuśruS I, 70, 5; 79, 21; II, 63, 18: 109, 3; 175, 14; BṛSaṁ XVI, 33; XL. 5; LXXVIII 33, BhāgP V, 21, 2; MārkP XV, 24; XXXII, 10; AvantiKā p. 18 = "a flat bean", the Dolichos Lablab, now is known is bhaṭ bāṃs (GUPTA)
The form niṣpāvī is not attested in the sources examined. /s. Śabdakalpadruma/ The literary meaning may be "very bright" or "entirely bright" / ? / The form pāva-anyhow connected with pāvayati Vpū-This verbal form has its parallel forms in the IE languages EWA II, 237, however the forming of niṣpāva is unsatisfactorily cleared up.

12. MAKUṢTHA m- Phaseolus aconitifolius, "a kind of kidney bean ?" Other forms : makuṣṭa and makuṣṭhaka.
SuśruS I, 73, 8; 197, 13; makuṣṭhaka : Amak II, 9, 17; SuśruS I, 197,20.
The etymology is obscure, the word is connected with mapaṣṭa-, mapaṣṭaka, mapuṣṭ / h / a, mapuṣṭ / h / aka-, mayuṣṭhaka, mukuṣṭha TURNER 10148.

13. MAṄGALYAKA m. "lentil" Cicer lens.
Amak II, 9, 17; AbhidhāCi 1170, AbhidhāRaMā II, 426; maṅgalya m. "id" SuśtuS I, 73, 8; 197, 13;
Etymology is obscure it can be probably derived from the same root as the maṅgala (?) The latter is also of doubtful origin.

14. MAYUṢṬHAKA m. Phaseolus aconitifolius, "a kind of bean" AbhidhāCi 1174; Pravacana / JOHNSON 167 f / s. makuṣṭha.

15. MASŪRA m. "a sort of lentil or pulse" Ervum hirsulum.
BṛĀraU VI, 3, 13; VājaS XVIII, 12; TaiBr III, 8, 14, 6; ArthŚā II, 24; BhelāS pp. 46, 48; CāraS XXVII, 22-23; BṛSaṁ XL, 2; VisṇuDS 79, 18; KātySm 27; KūrmaP 20; VāyuP VIII, 153-154; MārkP XXIX, 9-11; MatsP XV, 36-38; Agnip 175, 123; Garudp 8, 48; AvantiKā 18; KuttiMā 222; KV 48, 5; Mānaso III, 1339-63.
Pk masūra m. Ṭhā 4, 3.
It mast be a nonaryan word. The connection with māṣa is questionable. EWA II, 605.
Lit. : K. L. Mehra, History of Masūra-pulse in India and its Cultural Significance. in : VIJ vol, X.P. 1-2 / 1972 / p. 131 f.

16. MĀṢA m. "bean" Phaseouls radiatus.
AV VI, 140, 2; XII, 2, 53, TaiS V, I, 8,1; KāṭhS XII, 7; XXXII, 7; MaiS IV, 3, 2; VājaS XVIII, 12; ŚatBr I, 1, 1, 10; BṛĀraU VI, 3, 22; ChāndoU

V, 10, 6; ĀpaGS I, 13, 2; 17, 2; GobhiGS II, 2, 10, 6, 6; 9, 6; ŚāṅkhāGS I, 28, 6; ArthaSā II, 41; KāmSū VII, 1, 43; MaVāsuAva II, 432, 16. 19; BṛSaṁ XV, 14; XVI, 36; XXV, 2; AbhidhāCi 1171; Trikāśe 2, 9, 5; √ varṇa "the colour of bean : SuśruS I, 70, 5; māṣavat : "like bean" KṛṣiPa 191.

Pa. māsa √ khetta "a field of beans" : Vv 808, VvA 308.

Pk māsa m. De I, 98.

The word belongs to the common vocabulary of the human civilization/ Kulturwörter / Turkmen burcak "bean" EWA II, 630.

17. MUDGA m. "a kind of bean" Phaseolus mungo Lin.

Nir IX, 24; VājaS XVIII, 12; Nir IX, 24; P IV, 3, 166; BṛSaṁ V, 75, XV, 14; XXV, 2; XXIX, 5; XL, 5; AbhidhāCi 1172; Trikāśe II, 9,2; AbhidhāRaMā II, 7; Avantikā 18.

Pa mugga m "id" D, II, 293; M, I, 57; S I, 150; J. I, 274; 429; III, 55; VI, 355; Milñ 267, 341; SnA 283.

The word can be derived from mud-, however the origin of the latter cannot be cleared up satisfactorily.

EWA II, 653.

18. RALLĀ f. "a bean" /?/

Parallel form is rallaka.

Pravacana / JOHNSON, 167 f./ , rallaka : Kād 128, 23; 137, 2; Pk rallā f. "Italian millet" Panicum Italicum Lin. De, VII, 1 .

19. RĀJAMĀṢA m. "a kind of bean" Dolichos Catjang / PW /. More probably "Pigeon pea" Cajanus indicus Spreng.

MahāBhā XIII, 3282; Vāgbhaṭa VI, 19; MārkP 32, 11; Trikāśe II, 9, 5; Avantikā 18.

For the etymology of the word s. māṣa.

20. VARAKA m. "a bean" Phaseolus trilobus Willdenow "a kind of rice of varaṭa, vanaṭa : TURNER 11311.

AbhidhāCi 1173.

Pa varaka "id" J II, 175 /= kalāya /; Miln 267, DhA I, 311.

21. From vara "something best" ?

22. VALLA m. "climbing bean" Dolichos sinensis / JOHNSON 176 f / a kind of wheat TURNER 11425 /?/ EWA III, 166.

Pravacana / JOHNSON, 167 ff / Śaṅkara to BṛĀraUp VI, 3, 13; Pk "kind of grain" ar "a bean" Supā 13; 631; Samatta 118.

Etymology is obscure EWA loc. cit.

23. ŚIMBI or simba, simbā "a kind of Kidney bean" Phaseolus trilobus.
AbhidhāCi 1131; MālaMā 145, 20. Śimba : SuśruS I, 199, 6; śimbā : AmaK II, 9, 23; AbhidhāCi 1130, AbhidhāRaMā II, 34.
Etymology is unclear, the Dravidian or the Austroasiatic origin cannot be satisfactorily justified. EWA II, 340.

24. SATĪNĀ m. or satīnaka "a kind of pease" Pisum arvense. Mais II, 2,6; SuśruS I,73,9; 197,13; 198,3; 221,4.13; 228,16; RājNi XVI, 58.
Pk saīṇā f. "lentil" Cajanus indicus : Ṭhā 5,3; Patr. 343.
Without an acceptable etymological explanation EWA III, 421.

25. SAHĀ f. Gomphrena globosa, Phaseolus trilobus/LOSCH/ ? Vāgbhaṭa I,10,24.
Etymology is obscure. It is probably connected with saha "strong".

26. HARIMANTHAKA m. "chick pea" ? "Black gram" ?
AmaK II, 9,18; AbhidhāCi 1171.
Pk harimantha m. "black gram" Śrā 18; Pava 156; Saṃbodha 43.
The second member of the compound (manthaka) goes back to mantha. A parallel form is mantha "the potherb fenugrek Trigonella foenum graecum TURNER 1O 313. According to TURNER a metthi can be reconstructed and this later is obviously connected with various Dravidian words cf. Tam. meti, mentiyam. cf DED 4161.

The conclusions can be ascertained are as follows :

1. The names kulmāṣa, khalākula, khalvā; masūra, māṣa, mudgā and satīnā can be fairly attested in the sources belonging to the upper Vedic period/ca 800–540 B.C./. The name kulattha appears in the Premauryan period. The names like āḍhakī, kalāya, caṇaka, niṣpāva, makuṣṭhaka, maṅgalyaka rājamāṣa, varaka, śimba can be placed to the period of Ist-second centuries A. D. Tripuṭaka, harimanthaka occur in the sources of the middle of the first millenium A. D. The word sahā ? can be seen in a source of the end of the first millenium A. D. The words kṛṣṇacanaka, cavala, rallā, valla belong to the llth—twelfth centuries A. D.
2. From etymological point of view the majority of the words under examintion is obscure. There are some words of Dravidian origin : kulattha, kulmāsa, (khala) kula, caṇaka, masūra (?), (hari) manthaka, but the other items cannot be grouped into the great families of languages of India. There is a very difficult task in the field of the etymological research concerning the plant names[5].
3. The coexistnece of such forms like makuṣṭa, makuṣhṭa, mayuṣṭhaka, mapaṣṭa etc arises the question of a dialectology in the Sanskrit vocabulary. This problem requires further invstigations.

N. Q. Pankaj

Assimilation of Foreign People in Hinduism During the Pre-Gupta and Gupta Age

Much of the Āryan and Draviḍian religions had become fused in what we can call Hinduism during the beginning of the Gupta era[1]. Although Hinduism does not emphasise the conversion of the people of an alien religion to the Hindu dharma, its doors are open to any foreigner who is ever desirous to adopt Hinduism. A very noteworthy feature of the Gupta period is that Hinduism gradually achieved complete ascendancy. However, its wonderful elasticity and power of assimilation and recuperation were no less important factors in its ultimate truimph. The stamp of its recognition strengthened the position of even foreigners who were admitted to the roomy fold of the caste system.[2] Hinduism obliterated the ground so to say, from under the feet of its great rival, Buddhism by including Buddha among its ten *avatāras*[3] and absorbing some of his teachings. Thus, with all these new features, Brahmanism now changed into what is generally called Hinduism.

The *Varṇa* system was not completely dead by this time. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown how in the historical period various foreign tribes, entering india, were admitted into the castefold.[4] This was possible only through the operation of the *varṇa* system which is elucidated in the pages of the later works like the *Mahābhārata*.[5] Assimilation of foreigners of diverse cultures and religions continued unabated during this age. It went on admitting foreigners to its fold.[6] In by-gone centuries it had absorbed the incoming Greeks, Scythians, Pārthians

1. Chattopadhyaya, S. : Śakas in India, pp. 87—89.
2. Hazra, R.C. : Studies in the Purānnic records on Hindu Rites and customs, P. 199.
3. Eliot H.N. & Dowson, J. : Hitory of India as told by its Historians, vol. II P. 170.
4. IA. 1911 P. 144.
5. न योनिर्नापि संस्कारो न श्रुतं न च सन्ततिः ।
   कारणानि द्विजत्वस्य वृत्तमेव हि कारणम् ।। *Mahābhārata XIII. 143,50.*
6. Hazra : Op. Cit. p. 199

and Kusāṇas. In this period it completely Hinduised the Hūnas. The Ābhīras also, originally styled as '*dasyus*[1] were Āryanised. All these neo-Hindus adopted even Hindu names like *Īśvarasena, Śivadatta etc*[2]. It was in the community of Ābhīras that the worship of baby *Kriṣṇā* was mostly prevalent.

Like *Ābhīras*, we find various references of *Scythians* to have accepted the popular faiths of non-orthodox.[3] Some of the Indo-Greek coins like those of *Pautaleon* and *Agasthothocles* bear the figure of a dancing girl which is suggested to be the image of *Lakṣmī*.[4] The figures of *Śiva* appear in some of the copper coins of Maues, *Gaja-Lakṣmī* on those of *Azilises* and *Durgā-Pārvatī* on those of the Azes II[5] Among the Indo-Parthians, some of the coins of *Gondopharnes* are said to have contained the figure of *Śiva*[6]. The legend '*Devavrata*' or '*Sudevavrata*' found on some of the coins would have us believe that he was a Śaivite by Faith[7]. *Meridaskh Theodoros* accepted Buddhism[8] whereas *Moyika*, son of Urumuja, built a Śiva temple[9] and Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador to the court of Vidiśā., caused the erection of *Garuḍa-dhvaja* of *Vāsudeva*[10] and devoutly styled himself as '*bhāgvata*'[11].

The *Kuṣāṇas* of Punjab were Hinduised by 150 A. D.[12] *Wima Kadphises* seems to have imbibed the neo-orthodox culture. Some of his coins bear the figure of *Śiva* and show the bull and the Trident i.o. battle-axe, which is associated with his divinity. The legend '*Mahīśvara*' *or* (*Maheśvara Pāśupata*) also occurs there.[13] Some his coins bear on reverse the Kharoshṭhī legend 'Mahārajasa Rajadhirya vima Kadphisasa' while others have it as '*Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Sarvaloga Īśvarasa Mahīśvarasa vima Katphisasa Tratara*'[14] obviously in their *Prākṛt* form. These coins testify

1. *Vismu Purāṇa* V.33.13—15
2. EI. IX. p. 280; IA., 1911 p. 16
3. Chattopadhyaya : Opcit. pp. 94—96 also Tod; Annals and Autiquities of Rājasthan p. 51.
4. Sastri, N. (Ed) : Comprehensive History of India Vol. II p. 783.
5. Banerjea, J.N. : Development of Hindu Hindu Iconography pp. 120-21
6. Ibid pp. 118—19 also Sastri : Op. cit. p. 787
7. Gardner. p. : Coins of the Greek and Scythian kings of Bactria and India in the British museum p. viii.
8. Sircar : Select Inscriptions. I. p. 20
9. Ibid No, 20
10. Ibid No. 90
11. Vākāṭaka Gupta Age, P. 379
12. JRAS, 1909 p. 1089; JBAS XXIII p. 104
13. Panjiar stone Inscription of Kusāna kings, vide Sircar: SI. vol. I P. 126; also Bhandarkar: Peep into the early History of India p. 40; Cunningham: coins of Indo—Scythians Pt. III p. 8.
14. Sircar : Op. Cit. I. P. 125

to his conversion to the *Śaiva* Faith[1]. The coins of *Hūviska* bear the figures of '*Phallic Śiva*'[2], Skanda or Kumāra, Viśākha, and Mahāsena together with various associate emblems attributes of *Śiva*.[3] Vāsudeva had the the figure of *Śiva* on some of his coins.[4] According to Bhandarkar, the names of Kujula and Wima Kadphises, Kaniṣka and Huviṣka are sound Indian.[5] The popularity of *Śiva* worship is further proved by the fact that in numerous cases the names of kings and commoners are found connected with *Śiva*. The Shāhpur Inscription names one renowned, rich and wealthy *Śiva rakṣita*, who made a donation of ten thousand *Kārṣāpaṇas*.[6] Scholars are of opinion that the diversity of creeds represented an Kuṣāṇa coins especially of Kaniṣka and Hūviṣka show that they were not of Bramhanical faith.[7] But it is to be noted that the Brahmanic way of reiligious propagation was through a silent process of acculturation and assimilation rather than formal conversion to any sect. The coin devices of some of the Kusāṇas show not only the influeuce of neoorthodoxy on them, but also bring out the facts that kings like Wima had been devout Śaivites.[8] Even Kaniṣka, the greatest champion of Buddhism, adopted *Śiva* as a motif in some of his coins.[9] It indicates the steady progress of Śaiva cult which later got its most vigorous expression under the Guptas.

In his 'Foreign Elements in Hindu Population', Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[10] has shown how the *Yavanas*, *Śakas* etc. became part and parcel of the Brāhmaṇic Society and how they acquired[11] honourable positions. The *Mahābhārata* throws great light on this point. It pays eloquent tribute to the Śaka tribe and it is stated that the fourfold division of the people (*Cāturvarṇyaṃ*) is ako prevalent in their land, the *Śākadvīpa*.[12] The *Magas* of this community were *Brāhmaṇas* of high order (*Brāhmaṇabhūyisṭhāḥ*). The *Maśakas* were *Kṣatriyas*, the

1. Sastri : Op. Cit. II pp. 252—33; 788—89.
2. Cunningham Op. Cit. p. 101
3. Gardner : Op Cit. Pls. XXVII-XXVIII, Figs. 16. 22-24 Banerjea : Op. Cit. pp, 123-24, 136-37 also Bhandarkar's Charmichael Lecturers (1921 series) pp. 14-21.
4. Cunningham : Op. Cit. p. 11; JARS 1912 p. 1003.
5. IA. 1911 p. 17.
6. Corpus Inscription in Indicarum, Vol. II Pt. I pp. 16-17, and pp. 52, 103 etc.
7. IA. 1888 p. 89; JRAs. 1912 p. 981
8. Sircar : Opcit. I. p. 125
9. Ibid. p. 142
10. IA. 1911 pp. 12-16
11. Chattopadhyaya : Op. Cit, p. 87
12. *Mahabhārata* VI. II. V. 35

Mānasas were the *Vaiśyas* and the *Mandagas* were the *Śūdras*.[1] The *Magas* i.e. the *Magi* acted as priests among the Scythians[2] and on the door--steps of India they came to be regarded as the best of the *Brāhmaṇas*.[3] In his 'Geography' Ptolemy refers to the *Bakhmanoi Magai* or the Brāhmaṇa Magas living near the Bettigo ranges (Malaya) in south India.[4] These *Magas*, though foreigners, were accepted as Brāhmaṇas in Indian Society because by profession they were priests of the Sun.[5] This clearly shows that the status of some of the foreign tribes had changed entirely from that accorded to them by *Gautama* and *Manu*. Judged in this background the silence of *Yājñavalkya* seems to be rather significant which evidently shows that during the times of the sage, many of the tribes that had been looked down upon with contempt had raised themselves in the scale of caste and had been fully admitted to the Brāhmaṇical Society.

It is an undeniable fact the *Yavanas* or other foreigners while upsetting traditional social order and morality, were themselves completely absorbed within the indigenous social system. For the Greeks, the process of Indianisation started as early as the second quarter of the second century B.C. When Demetrius, contrary to the practice of all other Hellenistic kings, introduced a bilingual (i.e. in Greek, in Indian *Prākṛit* speech and with the *kharoshṭhī* script) coinage.[6] The series of Greek Votive inscriptions in *Prākṛit* signalised a considerable acceleration of the Indianising tendency. With the use of Indian Language and Script, they went the adoption of Indian religions. Some of the Indo-Greek kings appear to have figured hellenised forms of Indian divinities on their coins. The West Indian Cave Inscriptions give us names of certain private Greek or *Yavana* individuals who borrowed Hindu names. Their interest to Hinduism is now proved by the Pillar inscription of Besnagar.[7]

Nevertheless, the antagonism of the orthodox culture against foreign culture was a prominent feature during this period. An unique expression of this tension is noticed in law givers' almost half heartedly. According to them, they had

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* II, 49 : *Mahābhārata* VI. II 36-40
2. Chattoppadhyaya S : Op. Cit. p. 87
3. Chattopadhyaya S : Social life in Ancient India p. 22
4. Ibid p. 24
5. *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* 11. 13. 9; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV 3; *Kūrma Purāṇa* 48; 35; *Agni Purāṇa* 27. 21; *Padma Purāṇa* 8. 33-34; *Śāmba Purāṇa* 26. 27-28; also *Bṛhatsaṁhita* & *Varāhamihira*, IX. V. 19
6. Comprehensive History of India Vol. II p. 473
7. JRAS 1909 p. 1089; JRAS XXIII. 104

already fallen to the level of *Śūdras*[1] from Kṣatriyahood. But soon the Brāhamaṇa religionists enlisted these foreign elements to the neoorthodox faith.[2] The admittance of these foreigners into Hinduism as contrasted with the conservative and orthodox views of the *Purāṇas* tend to show that the character of Vaiṣṇavism, which was accepted by these foreigners, must have been against the *Varṇāśramadharma* and, therefore, a menace to it.[3] It seems that in popular Vaiṣṇavism also initiation was open to them and they were allowed to worship *Viṣṇu*. Vaiṣṇavism, therefore, found favour with these Śakas and *Yavanas* to a great extent.[4] Though most of the Greeks embraced Buddhism, the *Śakas* were thoroughly Hinduised.[5] They became instrumental in bringing different civilisations to bear upon each other. In this way India came into contact with various traditions far more than had formerly been the case and the result was naturally a widening of the scope of intellectual activity and the breaking of the fetters of traditionalism. It is doubtful, whether these foreigners were regarded as religiously or culturally different from the bulk of the Hindus during this period. We find that the *Ikṣvāku* king *Śāntamūla*, a staunch orthodox Hindu, had no objection to marry his son to a princess of the *Śaka* family.[6] The Hinduisation of the *Hūṇas* also took place within less than a generation. Toramāṇa, unlike Mihirakula, was much influenced by the Hindu way of life and philosophy. His *Eraṇ* stone Inscription refers to the *Varāha* incarnation of *Viṣṇu*[7] who is said to have caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of His hard shout showing thereby Toramāṇa's faith in and deep devotion to Lord *Viṣṇu*. The reference to *Varāhā* incarnation of *Viṣṇu* and representation of discus and shell of *Viṣṇu*[8] on the obverse of his silver coins of the Horseman type and that of nude *Lakshmī*[9] seated with legend *Jayā* on the reverse of his copper coins, definitely point to his strong leanings to the Brāhamaṇic religion and marks him

1. IA, 1910 p. 186. Hindu *Śāstras* have accepted the *anuloma*, i. e. a marriage between the male of a higher and the female of a lower caste, but have regretted the *Pratiloma* marriage, i. e., in the reverse order. This suggests that even though the mediaeval *Hūṇa* famillies were marrying with the *Kṣatriyas* and *Brahmanas* still looked on as lower in Status. (Biswas A. : the Political History of *Hūṇas* in India p. 148).
2. Chattopadhyaya S : *Śakas* in India p. 87
3. Hazra : Op. cit. pp. 199-200
4. IHQ. IX pp. 795-99
5. *Śakas* in India p. 80
6. Vākāṭaka Gupta Age p. 379
7. Fleet : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III. No. 36 p. 159
8. JASB. 1895 p : 188
9. Ibid pp. 197-99

as a convert to Hinduism. But, his successor Mihirakula was a devoted Śaiva.[1] A record of his enemy which states that he never bowed down his head before anybody with the exception of *Śiva*[2], is confirmed by the testimony of his coins which have the symbols of Trident and the Bull with the legend, '*Jayatu Vṛṣaḥ*' or '*Jayatu Vṛṣadhvajaḥ*' victory to the Bull and mount of *Śiva*.[3] At Śrīnagar he founded a shrine of *Śiva*, named *Mihireśvara*.[4] The process of the Hinduisation of the Hūṇas, that probably started with Toramāṇsa, was complete by the time of Mihirakula. In other words, while the father was a liberal Vaiṣṇavite, extending patronage to other religions, the son turned a staunch Śaivite and mercilessly persecuted Buddhists and Jainas.[5] Thus we can say that the Hūṇas adopted *Śaivism*, married their daughters to *Brahmaṇas* and *Kṣatriyas*, took Indian names and accepted Hindu Political Ideas. Some great scholars connect even *Rājpūts* to the Hūnas.[6] It seems that the Hūnas came to be assimilated in the Indian social structure gradually.

Śaka names were Sanskritized by this time. The Sanskrit adjective '*Maha* was added to the Greek term '*Kṣratrapa*' to indicate them. Nahapaña adopted the title '*rājana*' on his coins[7] and was followed by many others of his class. Besides, Hinduization of names also became a common fact. Nahapāna names his daughter *Saṅghamitrā* or *Dakṣamitrā* and his son-in-law bore the name of *Uṣabhadāta* (*Sans, Rsabhadatta*)[8]. Hindu names like *Vīryakamitra, Vijayamitra*[9], *Indravarmans, Jayadāmana, Vudhika*[10], *Rudrasiṁha, Rudrasena* agd *Satyadāmana* etc. became common amongst them and they also worshipped Hindu Gods like *Śiva, Viṣṇu* etc. They also showed reverance to Brāhmaṇas. *Uṣabhadāta* and his wife *Saṅghamitrā*, embraced the Brāhmanical religion[11]. Rudradāmana earnestly

1. Fleet : Op. cit. No. 37 p. 162; Thakur Upendra : *Hūṇas* In India p, 260
2. Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharma CII, III. No. 33
3. Ibid. Plate III 9.
4. No present day information is available regarding this temple.
5. Thakur Upendra : Op cit. p. 262
6. Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan, Intro by Crooke p. XXXI; JBBRAS 1903 p. 413
7. Rapson : Catalogue of Indian coins Āndhras, Western Kṣatrpss etc. PP. 65 ff.
8. JRAS, 1906 P. 211; Nāsik Nos. 11, 13, 18 and 26 EI.XVI. P. 23 IA. 1911 P. 14
9. EI. XXIV. P. 7
10. Luders' List Nos. 1148-49
11. सिद्धं राज्ञ क्षहरातस्य क्षात्रपस्य नहपानस्य जमात्रादीनीक पुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रिंशत सहस्रदेन……
देवताभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशकसाहस्रोभोजापयित्रा……प्रभासे पूज्यतीर्थे
ब्राह्मणेभ्य: अष्टभार्याप्रदेन ।
Select Inscriptions PP. 165-66; Kārle Nos. 7.10.13; Nāsik Nos. 10, 12.

adhered to typical Brāhmaṇical ideal of the attainment of *trivarga*. He is also said to have endeavoured to study the *arthavidyā*, i. e, the orthodox polity[1]. He obtained great fame by studying and retaining the knowledge and practice of grammer, music, logic and other great lores.[2] So perfectly Hinduised these Śaka-Kṣatrapa families had become that the other royal Hindu families did not think it degrading to contract matrimonial alliances with them[3]. The *Vākātakas*, *Bhārasiva-Nāgas*, *Ikṣvākus*, *Brhatphalayanas*, *Sālaṅkvyanas*, the *Pahlavas* and the *Kadambas* were enthusiastic in their support of Brāhmṇism.[4] Besides Greeks, the Śakas, Ābhiras and others almost from the first took pure Indian names. On their coins the Śaka, Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa kings adopted from the very beginning the system of bilingual legend (In Greek and in Indian *Prākṛit*) brought into vogue by their Greek forerunners.[5] Going a step further the Śaka-Ksatrapas of Gujarat and Malwa after the time of Chaṣṭana converted the Greek Inscriptions on their coins into an ornamental border, while substituting a Sanskritised *Prākṛt* in *Brāhmī* script for the old pure *Prākṛt* in *Khorhṣṭhī* letter[6]. Interesting reminiscences of the period of transition when foreign settlers had partially adopted varieties of Āryan Speech are preserved in *Manu*[7] and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[8]. Thus we have definite evidences of the conversion of foreign settlers to Indian religions.

Though these foreigners were thoroughly Indianised, the orthodox authors of Hindu *Śāasras* were taking steps to meet them half way. *Manu*[9] and *Mahābhārata*[10] include them in a status lower than *Kṣatriyas*. Although in the second and third centuries A. D. Princesses belonging to the Kṣatrapa ruling house of western India were accepted in marriage by orthodox kings of *Śatavāhana* and *Ikṣvāku* dynasties[11], *Mahābhārata* puts them to the level of *śūdreas*, though they were

---

1. Nasik No. 10; EI. VIII. P. 446; Junagadh Rock Ins. vide Sircar : Select Inscriptions, I. P. 172
2. शब्दार्थं गन्धर्व्व न्यायाद्यानां विधानां महतीनां पारण-धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोग-वाप्ताविपुल कीर्तिना..... EI. VIII P. 44
3. Sircar : Op. cit. I. P. 174
4. Sastri : Op. cit. II. P. 474
5. Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of India 1906-9 P. 126
6. X. 45
7. 1-22 15-16
8. शनैकस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः। वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च। पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविड़ाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः। पारदाः पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः २१२ ॥ *Manu* X. 43-44; also *Patanjali*. 2.4,10,
9. XIII–23, 21; Ibid–35.18
10. Brāhmana *Śātavāhanas* were entering freely tnto marriages wirh the descendant of Gasṭana and with the *Sakas* of Ujjainī. Again, the *Iksvāku* kings, who were orthodox Brāhmaṇas

eligible for the performance of vedic religious acts. These are difinite points to prove that a positive approach was made to assimilate these foresign people in the orthodox society[1].

It may be added that Hinduism preveiled also in Java, Sumatra and Borneo during this period and it is quite possible that its followers included not only the descendants of the first immigrants but also some converts made by them. When the Hindus first appeared in Malayasia and came into close association with her people, they tried to assimilate[2]. A Brahmin, named *Kauṇḍinya*[3] went from India to Fu-nan (*Kambuja deśa*) and was elected king by the people there. The dominant religious cults in Fu-nan were Śaivism and Buddhism. Jayavarman's (a successor of *Kauṇḍinya*) chief queen and son have left Sanskrit Inscriptions[4], which show how thoroughly the Hindu culture and civilisation were implanted in that far-off colony. The inscriptions refer to *Vaiṣṇava* cult.[5] Sanskrit Inscriptions discovered in Java, Borneo, Annam, Cambodia and Malay Peninsula leed inevitably to the conclusion that the language, literature, religion, political and social institutions of India made a clean conquest of those far-off land and to great extent, dominated or absorbed the native elements.[6] The images of various gods and goddesses discovered in Borneo and Malay Peninsula corroborate the evidence of the Inscriptions. Images of *Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Skanda* and *Mahākāla* have been found in Borneo[7] and those of *Durgā, Ganeśa, Nandi* and *Yoni* in the Malay Peninsula. Sanskrit language and literature were highly cultivated there. Most of the records are written in good and almost flawless Sanskrit.[8] Fa-hien[9] says that Brāhmaṇism flourished in *Yava-dvīpa* and the merchants mostly belonged to this religion.

(Chatto–Padhyaya S. : *Śakas* in India P–89) had no objection to accepting a bride from the *Śaka* royal family of Ujjainī. (Vākāṭaka Gupta Age, P. 343).

1. XIV. 29 15-16; XII, 65.13.22
2. Junāgadh Rock Inscription. Sircar : Op. cit. I. P. 172; also Archeological Survey of Western India V. P, 78
3. Mujumdar R. C. : Hindu colonies in the Far East p. 9
4. Ibid p. 18
5. Ibid p. 181
6. Vākāṭaka Gupta Age p. 317
7. Ibid
8. Majumdar : Op. cit. p. 25
9. Vākāṭaka Gupta Age, p. 31
10. Majumdar : Hindu colonies in the Far East p. 8
11. Giles : Travels of *Fa-Hsien* p. 78

Unfortunately we do not know the precise process by which non-Hindus were absorted in the Hindu fold. Probably they were themselves attracted by the Hindu religion and philosophy and began to worship Hindu gods of their own accord. In addition, Brāhmaṇas of the Gupta Age seem to have believed that Hinduism was intended not only for those who were born within its fold but for all who wanted to embrace it. They had no objection to act as priests to the new-comers and to perform different Saṁskāras for the member of their families,[1] The Sanskrit language was taught and the *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* were expounded to them and thus within a generation they became almost '*pucca* Hindus.[2] Inter-caste marriages were still taking place in Hindu society,[3] and even orthodox Hindus had no objection to establish marriage relations with these new-converts [4] Their absorption in the Hindu society was thus complete. The religious and social barrier between the new-comers and the people of the country was fast disappearing[5] and they completely merged into one society forgetting their identity altogether. As they attained power and prestige, they also claimed *ksatriya* status. These are clear indications that a rapid fusion of races was coming about where there was no religious repugnance for the customs and traditions of the new comers. Alongwith the fusion of blood there was a fusion of customs also[6]. The coats, over-coats and trousers introduced by Scythians, were often worn by Indian kings as can be inferred from the effigies of the Gupta Emperors on some of their coins.[7] And of all their customs and traditions, there were some which left a tremendous influence[3] on the political traditions of the country-

1. Śakas in India pp. 87-88
2. Vākāṭaka Gupta Age p. 380
3. Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman, Sircar : Op. cit. I. p. 172 also Archeological Sūrvey of Western India Vol. IV p. 139; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* I, 88. *Pratiloma* marriage have been recognised by *Yājñavalkya* (I. 93). A number of mixed (*Saṅkara*) castes like *mūrdhāvaśikta*. *Ambaṣṭha Pārarśavo*, *agra*, *Karaṇa* are mentioned by the same auther. (Ibid. I. 91. ff.). General born of such mixed marriage were branded as '*varṇāvarāḥ*' in the days of Kālidāsa *Mālavikāgnimitra* I. P. 13); see also Journal of Indian History XXX. AP. 1952 p. 61; *Mahābhārata*, XII. 68.29).

N. Subrahmaniam

Historical Epistemology* — I

KNOWING THE PAST

Unity of knowledge was an accepted doctrine among the ancient wise; it was so in the European classical world and in the Hindu India of olden times. The reasons for that doctrine were, however, different in these two cases; in the former, the wise ones who were properly called 'philosophers' in Greek deemed all branches of knowledge as parts of an integral whole, and Aristotle's is an eminent instance of such a view; in Hindu India too, *gnana* (or *gnostikos* from which we derive *knowledge*) was based on *tatwa* (the essential principle); but they tied up all knowlelge to a search for the flight from the secular and linked it therefore to the religious. Thus the epistemology of the Greeks on whose thoughts Pre-Christian and post-Renaissance Europe built its speculative philosophy was bounded by the secular on the one hand and the transcendental, including the trans-spiritual on the other; among the Hindus all philosophy was religious or profane which again was concerned with religion though only in a hostile sense; it was not a description or an explanation merely of the temporal process. Hence it was that Greece and thence Europe developed from very early times a tradition of *Historical* thinking and literature, while cultures which subordinated the secular to the religious, did and could do nothing of the kind.

So it is not due to preference but to necessity that any enquiry regarding the specific nature of the historical process as well as human understanding of that process has to be related only to western experience; that experience provides us with rich field for such an investigation.

There is little doubt that History deals with the past; its concern is to unveil the hidden and explain the unknown; even the 'immediate past' or for

* Lectures in the Benaras Hindu University under the auspices of the Department of Ancient History and Culture and Archeology on the 24th & 25th March, 1977.

that matter even the so-called 'contemporary' will become part of the past when History takes it on hand for understanding it. So that the formal tense called 'the present' really does not exist for history; it is the very recent which still continues that is usually called 'the present'; the future belongs not to the Historian but to the meta-historian whose interest lies beyond facts which have already existed. This concern with the past seems to be so natural and dealing with it so common place for historians that the average practising historian pursues his profession without questioning the latent assumption which all of them make, perchance unwittingly or by sheer habit of imitation. But an awareness of these assumptions will help us clear misunderstandings regarding the nature of the historical process.

An important assumption quietly made by every historian is that the historical evidence on which past facts are accepted by him as 'true' cured by the critical apparatus, can justify such an acceptance. But much of such an evidence is second-hand and only a very small percentage of his evidence can be tested by personal observation. Apart from the questions whether observation of historical phenomena will not automatically be subjective and whether even the most unimpeachable authority will not be tainted by subjectivity, there is the major problem of whether it is possible for a modern scholar to understand an ancient person or situation since time would have altered values consciously as well as imperceptibly. What is the worth of an account of a historical situation based on such tenuous evidence whose validity is assumed entirely on the basis of general credibility ? That is, the attempt to understand the past is beset with problems relating to the purpose and method of historical enquiry. The varying critical standards, characteristic of the historian's craft not only distinguishes him from the scientist but renders it natural for different historians to arrive at different and even opposite conclusions on the basis of the same evidence; in both cases documents and personal depositions are the main criteria of judgement and with the only but important difference that in the judicial procedure hearsay is not permissible as evidence and in the historian's method 'hearsay' accounts for a great part of the evidence he accepts, the two situations resemble each other greatly. In both cases so many wrong judgements are known to have been made; but it looks as if correct judgements can be only pure serendipity. Is this a satisfactory state of affairs ?

In this age of science, when both in regard to the method which consists in observation and analysis, and in regard to the goal which is to arrive at generalisations of universal and unerring applicability, the historical method has come to be looked upon with considerable skepticism in most quarters and

even contempt in a few. Now it would be good for historians to know (a) Where they stand relatively to the scientist's methods; (b) Why this difference exists and (c) Whether anything could or should be done to change the situation.

Before we proceed further, it is better to clarify certain issues usually overlooked by students of ancient history. It is presumed that the verificatory procedures adopted by archaeologists are the same or nearly the same as those of a historian. A moment's thought will clear the mist clouding this issue. The archaeologist proceeds on the basis of relics like monuments, seals, skeletal remains, coins, tools etc. All these materials do exist in front of the archaeologist as if they were contemporary material. On the basis of observed behaviour and known characteristics of this material, valid inferences are drawn—a kind of procedure not dissimilar to that of the scientist and therefore an archaeologist is truly deemed a scientist. But the position of a historian is greatly different; for he has none of his *dramatis personae* of history like the Buddha or Tamerlane (Timur) before him either to have a look at them or to evaluate them, nor the events of the past like the battle of the Hydaspes or the September Massacres for first hand appraisal. Some of the old institutions like the Buddha Sangha or the British Parliament do continue to exist but not in their original form, composition and manner; so that the historian has to understand and critically evaluate the Past which is known to him only imperfectly as well as indirectly. The historian still seems to be quite satisfied and at times even pleased with what he is doing to the past. This matter needs some detailed attention.

There are two things which matter to thinking men. One is fact; the other is value. The fact is the objective phenomenon, and the value is the abstract quality. The observation of the fact and its classification on the basis of obvious and external features is a scientific procedure which later goes on to list these features, physical as well as behavioural, and make a generalisation which will be for ever valid if things remained constant. The scientist does not proceed to give a value to his fact; i.e. to morally or aesthetically judge the fact, for it is not his function to do so and also because the material he deals with has no moral or aesthetic content. The physical data about a fact like its volume or weight, the voltage of an electric current, the boiling point of a liquid etc. are, other things being constant, fixed and unaltering; but are neither good nor evil, neither pretty nor unprepossessing but merely morally and aesthetically dead phenomena; and therefore they neither possess such a value nor can be given one. On the other hand the historian's facts do not interest him till they reveal their value to him, i.e. as some would prefer to put it, till

he is able to put a value tag on them. This value, unlike the above mentiond measurable and quantifiable characteristics, it is often asserted, vary from historian to historian, while the scientific generalisations cannot so vary. This statement is somewhat deceptive; for it is rarely remembered in this context that the invariability of scientific laws as tested in laboratory conditions is consequent only on the scientists' artificial control of all other attendant circumstanes, and that in the historical situation such a control is not possible.

The historian is moving neither from the particular to the general nor from the general the particular, though both the processes in that order are germane to the scientist. He is concerned with identifying the exact particular in its exactly original setting and providing the meaning peculiar to it depending on its context. The truth of a proposition is usually attempted to be established by correlation to the relevant external object or what is known as the correspondence theory. That milk is white is a proposition which can be proved with reference to an actual quantity of milk. The meaning of the word 'stone' is explained by pointing to an actual stone lying out there. But this procedure is inapplicable when dealing with the past, since the past is surely beyond the personal knowledge of the present day thinker; and so, if the correspondence theory offers the only valid procedure for verification, from this point of view all statements about the past will be devoid of validity.

But what is the historian's interest in the past ? It is the natural curiosity of anyone to know what is unknown, to discover what is concealed; and to interpret what is discovered. But the imagination which naturally enters this reconstruction necessarily alters the actual state of the past in unknown ways; so that the picture of the past reconstructed by even the astutest historian need not have the faintest resemblance to the exact reality of the Past; every word that is used to describe the past is bound to have a modern overtone and, suggests to the mind of the historian as well as his reader, only a picture familiar to him or subjective distortion of what is familiar to him and may never be able to recapture the identical past; even if by accident he does it, no one will be able to know it. If this is but a natural and necessary constraint on human imagination, there is a more uncertain area about the past wherein the adventurous historian, possibly wedded to an ideology, undertakes to explain it. Gordon Childe's Marxist interpretation of the archaeological past and Soviet historians' view of World History are instances in point. Such interpretations depend much on plausibility and littile else—for what else is there for one to hold to ? But the plausible is only logically coherent and need not be true or real. When alternative explainations are possible for a historical phenomenon, which

after all in reality could have been only one, all other explanations except *the* real one are but clever shots which, because we do not know that they have missed the target, are still entertained as passable.

To avoid this difficulty regarding the exact reproduction of the past Dilthey, Croce and Collingwood created theories which but partially explain the phenomenon of the past meeting the present. When the past calls on the present, it must have earlier experienced different kinds of changes : in the first place, the contemporary documents and accounts supposed usually to be more dependable and objective than later accounts suffer from a peculiar kind of subjectivity like Abul Fazl and Badauni writing about Akbar from almost opposite points of view due to personal predilections caused by differing experience; or court poets like Bana and Bilhana possibly exaggerating their heroes' virtues and attainments. Among the host of ancient writers it would be difficult to distinguish between. 1. Those like Polybius and Kalhana who moralise on critical standards but whose personal adherence to those principles cannot be vouched for; and 2. Others who made no such pretensions. Secondly it is difficult to determine whether what the contemporary writers chose to write about was after all the most important and significant of events and persons of those times; for the selection of these matters on which they expatiate was surely a subjective choice; and these matters, men and events are automatically deemed by later generations to be the only worthwhile phenomena of the past. This is something about which the later day historian can do nothing. In the second place, the written documents and inscribed epigraphs, the authenticity of which can however be determined by modern critical tools, have to be supplemented by other sources of information like prevailing traditions, social legends and so forth which must not be contemptuously ignored, for they constitute social memory. But memory, be it individual or social, is never a safe guide when one is interested in accuracy and fidelity to fact; for forgetfulness, hyperbole and conscious perversion apart from error are so effectively changing the nature of the evidence regarding the past, that the historian either accepts them fully on their face value and gets lost in a maze of facts mixed up with fiction and starts giving his fanciful interpretation to what after all never happened, or disbelieves and distorts everything and cynically throws up his hands in despair and calls history a hoax; again the historian who treats this material however selected, distorted and mutilated, brings to bear his personal bias to bear on it, in some cases flagrantly and in others in a subtle and insidious way. The historians of the Humanist age, the Age of Enlightenment, this Romantic Age and so on wrote their histories from the points of view accepted as valid by those respective ages; so that Voltaire and Michelet wrote

as they did, due to the compulsions of the times. Grote praised the Atheniam democracy for he lived in an age which was engaged seriously in democratic experiments and was fully convinced of the efficacy of that system of government. Marxist and other ideological interpretations of the past belong to the same category of subjectivity, which in one form or another seems to be inexplicable. So that ultimately the facts as well as the value suffer changes beyond recognition and become possible totally different from what they would have been on the day of actual occurrence : and the doubt still lurks in the minds of historians whether they are not after all assiduously barking up the wrong trees all the time. Thus the past eludes the present in a variety of ways.

To escape from this predicament, philosophers liko Croce and Collingwood said that to think of the past ever having a resurrection is futile for it is dead for ever: but what we call History is the recreation of the past in the historian's mind. It is imagined that the historian is capable of experiencing the past in his mind, passing through his mind the events of the past and re-enacting that past for himself and in himself. This is true only in the sense that what the historian calls History is but what he himself thinks about the past. When he is experiencing Chenghiz Khan's thoughts and actions, and gives a shape to those thoughts and actions from the point of view of his own personality and experience, he is mixing up his personal experience with it, This is similar to an actor who acts Julius Caesar having to identify himself with that person as far as lies in him, if he is to succeed in satisfactorily delineating the Roman hero: but can he ever become totally a Julius Caesar ? It is obvious he cannot become that; for there are sure to be numberless private feelings and thoughts which belonged only to Caesar and to which this actor can have no access, and those inaccessible feelings and thoughts must have profoundly influenced the public actions of that man. In so far as the process of working itself out in the historian's mind is concerned, it is not 'recreating', but creating for the first time; it is not 're-experiencing'–it is first experience and it is different from actuality; certainly the same as the actor being different from the original hero. Renaissance, however much it might resemble the original past, is only an imitation of it *plus* the peculiarities of the age of Renaissance. So recreating the past cannot mean an exact reproduction of what happened before. Therefore Ranke's hope of 'exactly stating what happened in past history' seems incapable of fulfilment. The reconstruction of the pest in the mind of the historian is new and contemporary and different from the *real*: it is romantic and alive and present unlike the past which was once real and is now dead as well as gone and can never be recovered except in multilated and grotesque forms perso-

nally favoured by particular historians. What is the use of exorcising such ghosts which by sheer time have been laid to deserved rest? Wordsworth the romanticist said that poetry is emotion recaptured in tranquility; and it is certain that the peaceful experience of emotive feelings which can lead to poetry can never be the same as real experience which is but a psychological upset. When we remember a crisis that happened in the deep past, the moment of remembrance carries along with the original sense of shudder a sense of relief also which could not have been present when the crisis was brewing of happening. As Tolstoy said the Battle of Borodino was not merely the victory of the French or the defeat of Russians but the untold (in both senses of the term) suffering of numerous persons on the field of battle and many more in the civil lives behind, which no historian can have an adequate knowledge of. The historian may speak of heroic deeds in war, while the dying soldier feels only unbearable pain and dies perhaps in remorse. The romantic categories of nationalism, patriotism, golden age and so forth are perhaps only sentimental wind of otherwise drab every day common places. These resemble realities only to the extent to which a drunken man resembles his sober self. If this recreated past is to be treated as history it is bound to be worse than honest or straight-forward fiction, for it is fiction masgurading as fact.

This difficulty apart, it would be useful to consider what tools of comprehension the historian employs for the understanding of historical phenomena. There are three modes of under-standing in general: 1. first hand through sensory perception which is the inductive process of observation followed by enumeration and clssification; 2. logical, i. e. largely deductive from premises to conclusion, wherein one starts with general propositions which are themselves conclusions derived by the inductive process; 3. Intuitive understanding which is one aspect of extra-sensory perception which Patrick Gardiner thinks is the sameas 'an ability to recognise resemblances between apparently different experiences'[1] is very different indeed from the scientific and the logical modes of comprehension; and its style of functioning is direct, i. e. bypassing the conscious channels of understanding, and therefore not explicable by tools currently known to science or logic.

The historian, unable to come to grips with the exact reality of the past makes certain assumptions to stand his judgements of historical events upon. These assumptions are value assumptions and are unlike those of mathematicians, which are postulates supposed to be too self-evident and obvious to need proof,

1. Nature of Historical Explanation, p. 132.

e. g. quantities which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another; or that, if a > b and b > e then a > c. These assumptions proceed on the basis of certain other assumptions like a, b and c having no value other than what relates to the measurement; and that all integers have the same value and so forth. These are true if the phenomena are isolated and not open to constant interference from known and unknown variables. But the historian's assumptions relate to value in the context of the action and interaction of countless variables acting in myriad predictable and unpredictable ways. To illustrate this position : Some of these assumptions are optimistic and some are pessimistic about human nature and are at the bottom of most historical explanations; the assumptions are said to depend on observations or 'man' (in the avarage) and his actions; but on careful scrutiny will turn out to be the product of the historian's own experience which is sure to have been limited by the environment, education, and heredity special to him; and therefore highly subjective assumptions. To say that man is essentiaily good and is corrupted only by external circumstances or to say its opposite will be to make un-warranted statements which are incapable of proof, On the other hand the instinct for survival, the urge for sex, hunger for power, desire for distinction are more credible as predictable human motivations than arbitrary assumptions of evil about man's essential nature, since these categories of good and bad are mostly subjective and relative.

These and many similar considerations oblige one to conclude that in the study of the past, the more distant the past the more exaggerated the picture becomes and nearer it is to us more natural and life-size the picture tends to become both in fact and in value; and this is contrary to what happens in the physical world, and therefore this phenomenon belongs to a qualitatively different world. Thus knowledge like Truth is indivisible; for knowledge of a part unless related to the totality is really no knowledge; that is to say, specialised knowlelge of certain areas of thought and action co-existing with total or partial ignorance in regard to the rest is still ignorance; and it leads to ideological cocksureness,-and like the proverbial dog it is a nuisance when it barks and a danger when it bites; ignorance, total or partial, coupled with a refusal to admit it is the shortest and easiest route-for it offers no friction-to dogmatism,

Thus it seems that discovery of the past for the historian is an almost impossible task and its interpretation and value assignment are perilous adventures. Whether history is the product of the Workings of the historian's mind

or not, the externalty of the historical process seeme to be incapable of understanding not to speak of proof For proofhas to be on the basis either of sensory perceptions (the *pratyaksha pramana*) or logical deductions (*anumana pramana*). The latter is but a system of verification of internal consistency for purposes of arranging or co-ordinating thoughts; and since 'life' need not be logical the second system of proof fails; and since the entire gamut of history cannot be brought within the framework of the personal experience of any one, the former system also fails. This will leave us in the quagmire of inevitable insolubility of the fundamental questions regarding historieal reality.

If that should be so, is the attempt to know the historical process doomed to fail ?

Contd.....

Some mistakes due to over sight crept into in the references which is regretted, The article may be read with tne errata published in this issue.

Editor

ERRATA

Some Aspects of Medical Sciences as Gleaned from Graco-Roman Sources

—*Vijai Govind*

Vol. III (4) Jan. 1978 pp 57-68
Vol. IV (1) Apl. 1978 pp 51-66

The following references wherever cited in the article be read as follows :—

Cited References	*Corresponding Exact References*
Ref. No. 2	Mc Crindle JW (1901) Ancient India as described in classical Literature, Westminister p XIV.
Ref. No. 3	Majumdar RC (1960) The Classical Account of India, Calcutta,
Ref. No. 4	Arrian (1) Anabases of Alexander tr. by McCrindle (1896). The History of Alexander the Great as Described by Arrian. Curtius, Dioderus, Plutarch and Justin, London quoted in Majumdar Rc (1960) *op. cit* pp 103-161.
Ref. No. 13	Puri BN (1963) India in Classical Greek writings, Calcutta.
Ref. No. 17	Srivastava B (1968) Trade and Commerce in Ancient India, see also Warmington EH (1928) The Commerce between Roman Empire and India, Cambridge.
Ref. No. 18	Jairsjabhoy RA (1963) Foreign Influence in Ancient India, Bombay.
Ref. No. 40	Filliozat, Jean (1964) The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi.
Ref. No. 41	Sen, SN (1963) Transmission of Scientific Ideas between Indian and Foreign Countries in Ancient and Medieval times,

Bull Sl. No. 21, see pp 16-17 Warmington EH (1928) *op. cit.* Filliozat, J (1964) *op, cit,* p. 253

Ref. No. 44 — Ss, Snt, XXXVIII; *SS, Ka,* VIII, 24; (It is also referred in in Atharvaveda as a remedy for gouted malaria. *SS, ntt,* XXXIX, 50, 70-81; *LVL,* 14 (Cured cholera and fever)
See also Gordan, BL (1941) Medicine throughout Antiquity, Philadelphia, p 320;

Continued from Page 1.

Ref. No. 70 — Jairsjabhoy, RA (1963) *op cit* p. 51

Ref. No. 77 — Megasthenese Frag I, 40 quoted in McCrindle (1960) *op. cit,* p. 39;

Ref. No. 86 — Megasthenese Frag. XI quoted in Mc Crindle (1960) *op. cit,* 52-53
Strabo, Pliny & Periplus refers date-palm; Grapes & Palm tree quoted in Srivastava B (1968) *op. cit,* 293-295.

Ref. No. 104 — Sarton, G (1927) Introduction to History of Science I, pp 76-77.

This paper was presented at the 'All India Conference of History of Science held at Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi on 17-20 October, 1968.

Sd/-
VIJAI GOVIND
20-6-78

Book Review

A DICTIONARY OF WORLD CHRONOLOGY, Volume (Ancient Period) B. C. 8300 to I B. C, By Dr. Raghunath Singh, With a Foreword by Morarji Desai. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 1977. Pages 416+viii. Rs. 100.00.

The present work lists in a chronological order the important events and developments in the history of the ancient world. The author does not assume the responsibility to settle controversial dates. He adopts the dates generally accepted by scholars but always mentions the other dates. His scheme is to present a chronological table in which each entry consists of the date, the country or region concerned and the important details of the event. This pattern enables the reader to note the contemporary events occurring elsewhere in the civilized world.

The work does not pretend to be a learned research work. But, its usefulness for the scholar as well as the common man cannot be denied. It is a handy and convenient volume. The fact that the author has prepared it without any assistance from any quarter is a clear proof of the hard work put in by him.

No library can afford to be without a copy of this useful reference book.

Dr. Mrs. Krishna Kanti Gopal
Lecturer, Deptt. of Ancient
Indian History, Culture & Archaeology
Banaras Hindu University
Varanasi.

DVAITA-VEDĀNTA—By Professor S. S. Raghavachar, Published by The 'Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Institute' for Advanced Study in Philosophy, Universityof Madras, pp—vi+67, Rs. 10/-1977

The Vedānta is the living Philosophy—religion of the Hindus, but it is not at all of one pattern, though all the systems of Vedānta categorically agree

the existence of Ultimate Reality as one. The different schools of Vedānta are all based on the triple foundation of the Upanishads, the Gīta and the Vedānta Sūtras. Śamkara's Advaita, Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita and Madhva's Dvaita and all these schools claim to find the doctrines of their systems embodied in these texts named Prasthānatraya.

Madhva lived in the thirteenth century (1238—1319) in the Western part of India and taught the philosophy of Dvaita. His life's mission was to defeat the views of the impersonalist-philosophers like Śamkara, their metaphysics and ethics than that of Rāmānuja.

The book under review is yet another scholarly attempt by Professor S. S. Raghavachar of a systematic exposition of the philosophy of Dvaita Vedānta. Professor S. S. R's Lectures reveal a comprehensive, coherent, sympathetic exposition of Madhva's philosophy based on authentic evidence from all of Madhva's recognised works. He has delivered these Lectures with ardent admiration and unconquerable conviction of the truth of Madhva's philosophy.

Again Prof. S.S.R. has divided scheme of his Lectures into five important and fundamental topics 1. Orientation 2. Literary Heritage 3. Epistemology 4. Ontology and 5. Mokṣa and the Sādhanā therefor.

In the first Lecture Prof. S.S.R. says that Madhvāchārya's teaching is designated as 'Tattvavāda' which term has been adopted in his māyāvāda khaṇḍana, tattva means "truth" and "vāda" means philosophy. Explaining the term "Tattvavāda" Professor says that 'It stands as an antithesis to māyāvada and the latter propounds the view that the world we encounter in our empirical consciousness is a phenomenal or even illusory construction lacking substantiality of being. In opposition to this, the Dvaita philosophy argues for the reality of the world. In other words, what is normally described as the external world of objects and situations, that the human mind faces in its experience, is real and objective according to tattvavāda", and discusses questions of epistemology and ontology from this realistic point of view. According to Mādhva "Realism is the natural bent of the human mind and it has been appropriated by all schools that speak of the intrinsic validity of human understanding in the notion of svatah prāmāṇya. Prof. S.S.R. brings out Mādhva's philosphy of realism, pluralism, theism and the several aspects of Mādhva's philosophy as compared with other systems of Indian philosophy, and in particular Sri Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita and Śamkara's Advaita.

In the second Lecture Prof. S.S.R. states in brief the available literature of Mādhva's philosophy referring to Māhabhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya, Vishṇutattva-

with what all Professor says by the Dvaitins, this book must, by all intellectual standards, be one of the best books on Dvaita in the present century. With the publication of this book the Dr. S. Radhakrihnan Institute for the Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras has enhanced its dignity and respect in the philosophical world.

Prof. K.S. Ramakrishna Rao.

रत्नकीर्तिनिबन्धावलिः

सम्पादक :—प्रो० अनन्तलालठाकुरः। निदेशकः— काशीप्रसादजायसवाल-अनुशीलनसंस्था, पटना (बिहार)।

प्रकाशनसमयः—१९७५ ई०। २०३२ सम्वत्। बिहारप्रशासनसंरक्षकत्वे भोटदेशीयसंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायाः तृतीयं पुष्पम्।

काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल अनुशीलनसंस्थायाः कृते तदीयाध्यक्षैः प्राकाश्यमानीतः।

आकार :—षोडशपृष्ठात्मकफार्मा, रायल

मूल्यम्—एकादश रूप्यकाणि।

संस्करणम्—द्वितीयं संशोधितम्।

पृष्ठसङ्ख्या—१६ + ३२ + १७६ = २२४ (चतुर्विंशत्युत्तरं द्विशतम्)

अमन्दानन्दसन्दोहकन्दायमानमेतद् यद् बौद्धाचार्यवर्यतत्रभवज्ज्ञानश्रीमित्राणां शिष्यान्यतमेन महामतिश्रीरत्नकीर्तिमहोदयेन रचितानां निबन्धानां सङ्ग्रहात्मको 'रत्नकीर्तिनिबन्धावलि' नामा आलोच्यमानो ग्रन्थो बिहारराज्यप्रशासनाधीनकाशीप्रसाद-जायसवालानुशीलनसंस्थाया निदेशकमहेच्छैः विश्वविश्रुतकीर्तिकीर्तनीयैः श्रीमद्भिर-नन्तलालठाकुरदेवशर्ममहोदयैः प्रकामं परिश्रम्य, पर्याप्तं संशोध्य निपुणमनुसन्धाय च प्राकाश्यमानीतः।

ग्रन्थरत्नस्य द्वैतीयीके संस्करणेऽत्र तत्रभवद्रत्नकीर्तिकृतानां दशानां निबन्धानां सङ्ग्रहो दृग्गोचरीभवति। तन्नामानि यथा—

१. सर्वज्ञसिद्धिः।
२. ईश्वरसाधनदूषणम्।
३. अपोहसिद्धिः।
४. क्षणभङ्गसिद्धिः। (अन्वयात्मिका)
५. क्षणभङ्गसिद्धिः। (व्यतिरेकात्मिका)
६. प्रमाणान्तर्भावप्रकरणम्।

७. व्याप्तिनिर्णयः ।
८. सिद्धसिद्धिदूषणम् ।
९. चित्राद्वैतप्रकाशवादः ।
१०. सन्तानान्तरदूषणम् ।

अन्यच्च—ग्रन्थ प्रारम्भे आङ्गलभाषायां निबद्धा इमे विषयाः सन्ति—

विहार प्रशासनस्य विज्ञप्तिः, गौतमीयन्याय-बौद्धन्याय-जैनन्यायानां संस्कृतग्रन्थानाम् तत्सम्बद्धानामाङ्गलग्रन्थानाञ्च विवरणम्; ग्रन्थथानाम्, पत्रपत्रिकादीनां च सङ्केतः, ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रथमसंस्करणस्य तात्कालिकनिर्देशकानां विज्ञप्तिः, द्वैतीयीकसंस्करणस्य विज्ञप्तिः, ततः पञ्चविंशतिपृष्ठात्मिका आङ्गलभाषाभूमिका, सप्तपृष्ठात्मिका संस्कृतप्रस्तावना चेति। एवमेव ग्रन्थान्ते विशिष्टनामसूचीअवतरणसूचीविशिष्टशब्दसूची शुद्धिपत्रञ्च सन्निविष्टम् ।

अत्रेदं वक्तव्यम्—

ग्रन्थस्यास्य सम्पादनं नाम दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशोबोभूष्यमाणैः सार्वभौमपाण्डित्यमण्डितैः श्रीमद्भिरनन्तलालठाकुरमहोदयैर्व्यधायीति संस्करणमिदं सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरं सङ्ख्यावद्धुरन्धरनिकुरम्बसङ्ग्राह्यं नैयायिकनायकमनआनुकूल्यास्पदं दर्शनशास्त्रसारस्वतसाररसैकस्थानमित्यत्र नास्ति संशीतिभीतिलवक्लेशलेशोऽपि । जानन्त्येव ज्ञातारो यत्-प्राचीनास्तिकनास्तिकभेदकाण्डमण्डितोऽयं दर्शनकल्पतरुर्दर्शनवतां दर्शनीयताञ्चिरेण वर्वर्ति एव । तत्र न्यायदर्शनमिदं स्वीयाखण्डचातक्यंतर्ककर्कशवाग्भी राजत एव सर्वदा। तत्रापि बौद्धन्याय-गौतमन्याययोः परस्परं पास्पर्ध्यमानयोः महामल्लयोरिव वाचोयुक्तयः दर्शनान्तरयुक्तीरतिशेरतेतमाम् ।

स्वातन्त्र्यपरिमलोल्लासभरिते भारते ईदृशानां ग्रन्थरत्नानां प्रकाशनं सम्पादनं योग्यविद्वत्कर्तृकं सर्वथाऽपेक्ष्यत एवेति सिमेषां सङ्ख्यावतां निर्विवादास्पदं पदमिप्यस्मत्सम्मतं मतम्, तत्सन्दर्भे श्रीठक्कुरमहोदयैर्ग्रन्थममुं प्राकाश्यमानीय सुतमामाधमर्प्यं प्रापिता वयमिति भूतार्थं वचः । संस्करणेऽत्र बहूनि वैशिष्ट्यानि पाठकानां मनांसि बलादिव आकर्षयन्ति । तद्यथा—

प्रतिपृष्ठं कुत्रापि अक्षराणां सन्निवेशने निबिडता नास्ति । प्रतिपृष्ठं प्रायः पञ्चषाः सन्दर्भाः (पैरा) सन्ति । कुत्रचित्तु ततोऽधिका अपि ते, तेन पठने पाठने वा छात्राणा मध्यापकानाञ्च स्वल्पमप्यसौविध्यं न भविष्यति । पठनपाठनसमये कुत्रचिद् यदि पाठकेन स्वपक्षतः किमपि लिख्यताम्, प्रश्ना वा उट्ट्यङ्क्यन्ताम्, अन्यत्किञ्चिदपि वा क्रियताम्, तदर्थं पर्याप्तं स्थानं प्रतिपृष्ठं दरीदृश्यते । युक्तञ्चैतत्, मननशीलानां विदुषां कृते तस्यापेक्षणीयत्वात् ।

एवमेव यथास्थानं पाठान्तराणि, हस्तलिखितग्रन्थस्थपाठाः, शब्दविशेषस्य मूलस्थस्य हस्तलिखितेऽभावः, आकरस्थलनिर्देशः, ग्रन्थान्तरीवचसामाकरनिर्देशः, तत्पाठान्तराणि चेति बहवो विषया निर्दिष्टाः। निबन्धेषु ग्रन्थानां तत्कर्तॄणाँ च नामानि भिन्नप्रमाणकमुद्राक्षरात्मकानीत्यपि वर्तत एव। त्रिषु परिशिष्टेषु ग्रन्थगतानि विशिष्टनामानि, अवतरणानि विशिष्टशब्दाश्च यथावर्णक्रमं स्थापितम्। तत्र विशिष्टनामानि, ग्रन्थस्य प्रणेतुर्वा नाम ग्रन्थे क्व क्व समागतम्, अवतरणानि कौतस्कुतानि, विशिष्टशब्दाश्च कुत्र कुत्र पृष्ठे सन्तीति सर्वं समुदलेखि सम्पादकैः। सर्वान्ते च शुद्धिपत्रमस्ति।

अत्र किञ्चित्—

रत्नकीर्तिग्रथिता इमे स्फुटनिबन्धा यत्र कुत्रचित् प्रकाशिताः, अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे तु एकत्र सहत्य प्रकाशिता इति कर्णेहत्य सन्तोषस्थानम्। मान्यमान्यैः श्रीमद्भिरत्तेकरमहोदयैः प्रथमसंस्करणभूमिकायाम्, (याऽत्र संस्करणेऽपि सन्निविष्टेति व्याहृतं मयका पूर्वमेव) तत्रभवज्ज्ञानश्रीमित्ररत्नकीर्तिपादान् बौद्धजैनगतमन्त्रतन्त्राणि चाधिकृत्य किमपि संक्षिप्य सारगर्भं वक्तव्यं प्रस्तुतमेव, परमत्र द्वैतीयकसंस्करणे भूमिकायां, सर्वे विषया यथाप्रपञ्चं सविस्तरंचूर्णीकृत्य सम्पादकैः श्रीठाकुरमहोदयैः स्थापिताः। तत्र रत्नकीर्तिपादैः सह मीमांसकानाम्, शास्त्रान्तराणाम्, वाचस्पतिमिश्र - भासर्वज्ञ-त्रिलोचनप्रभृतिविदुषाम्, नैयायिक-तान्त्रिकाणाञ्च सम्बन्धः, विक्रमाशिलाविश्वविद्यालये रत्नकीर्तिपादानाम्, तदीयगुरुश्रीज्ञानश्रीमहोदयानाञ्च स्थानम्, रत्नकीर्तेः पुरस्तात् हिन्दूबौद्धदार्शनिकानां समानगोष्ठीकारिता इत्यादयो विषया निर्विशयं विविच्य, संयुक्तिकं संशोध्य, यथाश्रमं विलोड्य च उक्ताः। विषयेऽत्र सम्पादक आत्मानं महापण्डितश्रीराहुलसांकृत्यायनस्य अधमर्णमुररीचर्कीति।

तदनु संस्कृतप्रस्तावनायां सम्पादकेन आङ्ग्लभाषानिबद्धभूमिकाविषया एव प्रायः अनुसृताः। अस्मात् पश्चात् निबन्धसंग्रहात्मकग्रन्थारम्भः। तत्रादौ एकत्रिंशत्पृष्ठात्मकः सर्वज्ञसिद्धिनामको निबन्धः। तत्रादौ कुमारिलवाकमुपन्यस्य, ततोऽनु सम्भावनायास्त्रयोदशविकल्पानुल्लिख्य, यथाप्रसङ्गम् असकृत् तौतातिककारिकाः समुट्टङ्क्य, तथैव बृहट्टीकाम् काशिकाकारम्, वाचस्पतिमिश्रकृतन्यायकणिकाम्, श्रीमत्त्रिलोचनकृतन्यायप्रकीर्णकम्, न्यायभूषणकारम् अन्यांश्चाचार्यान् तदीयमतानि क्वचिन्नामग्राहं, क्वचि-तु नाम अगृहीत्वैव समुद्धृत्य सर्वज्ञसिद्धिः साधिता। दर्शनविषयकोत्त्ययं निबन्धः क्वचित् दृष्टान्तमिषेण काव्यशैलीगर्भ इति स्पष्टमेव (द्र० पृ० ११)।

द्वितीयस्मिन् 'ईश्वरसाधनदूषण'नामके प्रबन्धे प्रथमं तावन्नैयायिकमतमुत्क्षिप्य बौद्धदर्शनदर्शितदिशा तत्खण्डनं व्यधायि। अत्र न्यायकणिकामतमसकृत् उद्धृतम्। तदतिरिक्तम्—श्रीत्रिलोचनमतम्, श्रीनरसिंहमतम् मीमांसावार्तिककृतम् बृहट्टीका अध्युष्टसहस्रिका, अलङ्कारकारमतम् भगवच्छङ्कराचार्यमतम्, वित्तोकमतम्, चोल्लिखितानि। निबन्धेऽत्रापि पूर्ववदेव श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्राः क्रियासमभिहारं स्मृताः। प्रबन्धोऽयं षड्विंशतिपृष्ठात्मकः।

एतस्मात् परं नवपृष्ठात्मकोऽपोहसिद्धिनामा निबन्धः। तत्रादौ अपोहशब्दार्थं बहुधा निरूप्य वाचस्पति-कुमारिल-त्रिलोचनादिमतं खण्डयित्वा स्वेष्टपक्षः साधितः।

ततः षोडशपृष्ठात्मकः क्षणभंगसिद्धिनामा निबन्धः अन्वयात्मकः, पुनस्तन्नामक एव त्रयोदशपृष्ठात्मनिबन्धो व्यतिरेकात्मकः। उभयत्र एक एव विषयो दिग्भेदेन साधितः। तदनन्तरं दशपृष्ठात्मकं प्रमाणान्तर्भावप्रकरणम्। निबन्धेऽत्र धुर्येव प्रमाणस्यापरिहार्यतां प्रसाध्य न्याय-मीमांसाभिमतं मतं पूर्वपक्षय्य स्वपक्षः साधितः। अत्र वैदिकशब्दानां कवेहत्य खण्डनं व्यधायि। तत्र पण्डितश्रीजितारिपादा अपि स्मृताः। अत्र बौद्धाभिमतं प्रत्यक्षमनुमानञ्चेति प्रमाणद्वयी स्थापिता। अन्यानि उपमानाभावादीनि ध्वंसितानि। प्रत्यक्षमात्रप्रमाणवादिनश्चार्वकस्य नैयून्यमपि दर्शितम्।

ततः पृष्ठषट्कमयो व्याप्तिनिर्णयः। ततः स्थिरसिद्धिदूषणम् द्वादशाधिकशततम-पृष्ठतोऽष्टाविंशत्युत्तरशततमपृष्ठं यावत् सप्तदशपृष्ठमयम्। अतः परम् षोडशपृष्ठमयश्चित्रा-द्वैतप्रकाशः। ततोऽन्तिमनिबन्धः सन्तानान्तरदूषणनामा पञ्चपृष्ठात्मकः।

ग्रन्थेऽत्र समेषां निबन्धानामादौ 'नमस्तारायै' इति वचनमुपलभ्यते, तेन रत्नकीर्ते-स्तारोपासकत्वं स्फुटं ध्वन्यते। बौद्धेषु तान्त्रिकपद्धत्या तारोपासनं खलु प्रकामं प्रसिद्धि भजते। प्रसङ्गेऽत्र स्रग्धरच्छन्दोविबद्धं 'स्रग्धरास्तोत्र' नामकमधितारं पुस्तकं प्रमाणम्।

सर्वविधसौन्दर्यबोभूष्यमाणेऽप्यत्र ग्रन्थे मुद्रणाशुद्धयो यथास्थानं वर्तन्त एवेति पारेगिरां दुःखास्पदं पदमित्यस्मत्सम्मतं मतम्। नैतावता महाविदुषः सम्पादकस्य अदूष्यं वैदुष्यं कलङ्कमञ्चति। परमथापि तदुत्तरदायित्त्वं तदुपर्येवेति राद्धान्तः।

तत्र यद्यपि ग्रन्थान्ते शुद्धिपत्रं वर्तत एव, परमिदं गण्डस्योपरि विस्फोटकरायमानं यत्तत्राप्यशुद्धिपिशाची नृत्यत्येव। सन्दर्भेऽत्र द्वाविंशतितमत्रयस्त्रिंशमाष्टादशाधिकशततमैकोन-विंशत्यधिकशततमैकोनपञ्चाशदधिकशततमपृष्ठानि प्रमाणम्। एषु क्वचिन्मुद्रणाशुद्धिः, अपरत्र पृष्ठाङ्काशुद्धिः, इत्यादिकं दृग्गोचरीबोभवीति।

अनपेक्षितमपि अनुसारमुद्रणं तु बहुत्रास्त्येवेति।

परिशिष्टेषु सर्वत्र 'सूची' पदप्रयोगोऽपि चिन्त्यः, सूचीशब्दस्य भवदभिप्रेतार्थे शिष्ट-प्रयोगाभावात्। ईदृशस्थलेषु 'अनुक्रमणी' शब्दः साधुरिति।

सत्स्वपि एषु अल्पेषु दोषलेशेषु ग्रन्थोऽयं सर्वदा बुधैस्तत्रापि सर्वविधदार्शनिकै-रहमहकिकया सङ्ग्राह्य एवेति निश्चप्रचं स्वीकरोति—

बी० ३।११०, शिवालयः,
वाराणसी, २२१००१

मनुदेवभट्टाचार्यः अध्यापकः
गोयन्नकासंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयः,
वाराणसी

A SPECIAL NUMBER

of

THE JOURNAL OF INDIAN WRITING IN ENGLISH

THEME :

FOREIGN RESPONSES TO INDIAN WRITING IN ENGLISH

Guest Editor : **Kirpal Singh**

Release date : January 1980

Contributions of about 2,000—4,000 words are invited from scholars OUTSIDE India to reach Mr. Sing at the Dept. of English, University of Adelaide, delaide 5000, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, by **March 1979.**

Latest Books on Religions & Philosophies

Anandamayi Ma : A Study of her life & Teachings—Alexander Lipski

Bhagavata Purana, 5 Parts—Tr. & Annot. by G. V. Tagare

Brahma Sutras—Svami Sivananda

Buddhist Sects in India—Nalinaksha Dutt

Conquest of Suffering—Parwez J. K. Saher

Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms—W. E. Soothill & Lewis Hodous

Dimensions of Renunciation in Advaita Vedanta—K. N. Tiwari

Doctrine of the Jainas—W. Schubring

Early Rulers of Khajuraho—2nd Revised Edition—S. K. Mitra

Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies—Ed. by Kari H. Potter—
Vol. I : Bibliography;
Vol. II : Nyaya Vaisesika

Global History of Philosophy—Vol. I —J. C. Plott

The Hindu Temple, 2 Vols.
—Stella Kramrisch

Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh —P. K. Bhattacharya

History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture—R. Nath

History of Indian Literature. Vol III. Part I : **Classical Literature,** 2nd Rev. Edn. - M. Winternitz. Tr. by Subhadra Jha

History of Indian Philosophy, 5 Vols.—S. N. Dasgupta

Indian Kavya Literature, Vol. III—A. K. Warder

Indian Studies Philosophy—Ramchandra Pandeya

Janakiharana of Kumaradasa. Cantos 16-20—Ed. & Tr. by C. R. Swaminathan

The Journey with Death—Rohit Mehta

Life as Yoga—Vimala Thakar

Love Poems of Ghananand—Tr. & Ed. by K. P. Bahadur

Madhusudana Sarasvati on Bhagavadgita S. K. Gupta

Mahanirvana Tantra--Sanskrit Text, Ed. by Arthur Avalon

Mahayana Buddhism—Nalinaksha Dutt

Megasthanese and Indian Religion—Allan Dahlquist

Monolithic Jinas—Jose Pereira

Mystic Experience—Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh

Nyayamanjari of Jayanta Bhatta —Janakivallabh Bhattacharya

The Parrot and the Starling—K.P. Bahadur

Quranic Sufism—2nd Revised Edition—Mir Valiuddin

Rajput Painting—2 Vols.—Anand K. Coomarswamy

Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet—Dr. Eva Dargyay

Samkhya Sutras of Pancasikha and the Samkhya-tattvaloka of Hariharananda Aranya—Sanskrit Text with Eng. Tr.—Ed. by Jajneswar Ghosh

Saundaryalahari of Sankaracarya—Sanskrit Text with Eng. Tr. Ed. by—V. K. Subramaniam

Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India —2nd Revised Edition—L. M. Joshi

Study of Yoga—Jaineswar Ghosh

Taxila, 3 Vols.—Sir John Marshall

Vadiraja's Refutation of Sankara's Non-Dualism : Clearing the way for theism—L. Stafford Betty

Vakyapadiya—Chapter II—Tr. by—K. A. S. Iyer

Why Meditation ?—Vimala Thakar

Yoga and Indian Philosophy—Karel Werner

Yoga of the Guhysamajatantra—Alex Wayman

Yoga System of Patanjali—G. H. Woods

Yoga Unveiled—Part I—U. A. Asrani

MOTLAL BANARSIDASS
Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007

CABLE : 'ABSONS' PHONE : 52894

A. Bhattacharya & Sons

D. 28/171, Pande Haveli
VARANASI - 221001

Manufacturers & Exporters of Indian Handicrafts :

- BANARAS SILK SAREES
- BROCADES, SCARVES & DRESS MATERIAL
- ARTISTIC BRASSWARE
- IVORY & WOOD CARVINGS
- PAPIER-MACHIE PRODUCTS
- WALL HANGINGS & LAMP SHADES
- WOODEN TOYS & MANY OTHER NOVELTIES

PLEASE CONTACT FOR ALL YOUR REQUIREMENTS

OUR RECENT RELEASES

STONE OBSERVATORIES IN INDIA

—Prahlad Singh

The book deals with the unique subject on the 'megalithic' observatories in India and the author took enough of pains to simplify the technical aspects for the benefit of the general readers.

It describes the contribution of the Astro-Scholars of antiquity like Aryabhatta, Varaha Mihira, Brahmagupta, Bhaskaracharya and a host of others who preceded Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh, in the field of Observational Astronomy in India.

Crown 4to Pp. 225+53 Plates. **Rs. 100/-**

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY : A STUDY

—Moni Bagchee

Ananda Coomaraswamy, rightly, called 'an all-seeing light' opened our eyes to the glories of our cultural heritage in a manner which remains unsurpassed. In this monograph, the author very ably evaluates the out standing contributions of this great exponent of Indian art and aesthetics with illustrations which are both illuminating and inspiring.

Demy 8vo. Pp. xx+206.. **Rs. 30/-**

THEORY OF KARMAN IN INDIAN THOUGHT

—Dr. K. Walli

The doctrine of Karman has almost an universal appeal in our country The seers of the past have dealt with this theory both from esoteric and exoteric stand-point. Dr. Walli, Ph. D., D. Litt., a renowned scholar and teacher, has explored all sources, namely the Vedas, Dharmaśāstras, Agamas, Tantras, Epics and Purāṇas, and made available to the readers all the interpretations, contained therein. In addition, she was fortunate enough to have the guidance from late revered MM. Gopinath Kaviraj which renders the contents of the book authoritative.

Demy 8vo Pp. 375. **Rs. 55/-**

BHARATA MANISHA

D 28/171 Pande Haveli, Varanasi - 221001